The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOLUME V | New York, Saturday, November 6, 1915 | Number 53

Contents

Editorial Notes 1
Leading Editorials
Government According to Law 4
Preparedness—A Trojan Horse 6
Crime in Chicago 7
General Articles
For a Disciplined Patriotism ..... Erville B. Woods 9
A Spiritual Drama: The Life of Man ..... Translated by Jacob Wittmer Hartmann from the Russian of Arkadyi Averchenko 10
Mobilizing the Administration ..... Graham Wallas 12
An International Ship-Commission (Economics of American Shipping: VI.) ..... Gerard Henderson 14
The Play School: An Experiment ..... Helen Marot 16
Correspondence 17
After the Play ..... Q. K. 20
Books and Things ..... P. L. 21
Reviews of Books
The Case for Conscription ..... Harold J. Laski 22
The Easiest Way 23
Gaiety in Verse 25

WHAT an election! All along the line the recent popular reaction against innovations or experiments has been continued. Almost nowhere is there any indication of an affirmative vote, of a generous conviction. The people have tended to repudiate the national administration, to return to Tammany in New York, to take back the ring in Philadelphia, to relapse into Republicanism in Massachusetts, and to condemn all constitutional amendments. The people don't know what they want to vote for, so they vote according to interest, habit, prejudice, or vague apprehension. The election reveals chiefly a temporary anarchy and inertia of public opinion.

THE revised constitution for the state of New York has not been defeated, it has been utterly and irretrievably damned. The voters have done more than register the disapproval of a plan. Their disapproval has been so emphatic that it constitutes a rebuke. They are wholly opposed to state administrative reorganization designed merely to promote efficiency. Does their disapproval mean that the agitation for a more efficient and responsible state political mechanism should be abandoned? Not at all; it means only that the agitation should unite with its proposals for a more efficient state government some effective and persuasive measure of popular control. The proposed constitution enormously increased the power of the state administration without doing anything to make the people feel that they could make this powerful mechanism their own. As a matter of fact, they could have controlled it much better than they can control the existing irresponsible government; but no care was taken to quiet their natural apprehensions, to afford them any additional sense of security or to arouse positive interest. Probably they will never accept the concentration of state authority in comparatively few hands until it is accompanied, as it has been in the case of the commission form of government for the cities, with an increasing measure of direct popular political action and responsibility.

UNTOLD strain and stress were involved in the campaign for woman suffrage in the East. That splendid expenditure of effort, however, is all to the good. In the day of their defeat the suffragists would do well to realize what they accomplished. Suffrage is an inelastic issue. It is incapable of disguise. It is almost wholly insusceptible of manipulation. It demands for its success a high degree of elasticity in the public mind. Had the suffragists failed to contend so strongly for their principle, its rejection would have been so arbitrary that a repetition of effort would have been almost impossible. But the result of the four Eastern elections is a positive assurance of eventual success. The anti-suffragists affect to believe that the defeat of suffrage was whole-hearted. If they would only look at New York's verdict on the proposed constitution they would realize what a whole-hearted defeat really is. To keep the suffragists from seeking

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to recover momentum, the antis point out that the campaign was renewed unsuccessfully in Michigan and Ohio. They choose to forget that in California and Oregon it was victoriously renewed. The elections prove that in the worst possible year for such a radical issue the electorate was extremely receptive. Another campaign will convert that receptivity into the healthiest kind of acceptance.

AS an immediate issue woman suffrage is temporarily dismissed, but a closed election should not mean a closed mind. At the last minute in New York the anti-suffragists produced Mrs. Anna Steese Richardson of Colorado to argue against votes for women, but Mrs. Richardson made too valuable a point against her own side to be forgotten now. When she began voting, Mrs. Richardson confesses, she made serious mistakes. "We meant to purify politics, but we did not know how. . . . Dishonest? Misuse of my voting privilege? Not at all as I looked at it then, in my inexperience and irresponsibility. To-day, yes, because I understand the power of the ballot for good and evil, because years develop the sense of responsibility. And thousands of women, given the ballot in New York now, will use it to no higher ends, until they have been educated either by the press or by bitter experience in political economy and in appreciation of the ballot's power." A more telling argument for the use of the ballot by women has never been put forward. We have Mrs. Richardson's word for it that suffrage taught her citizenship. And yet she worked to shut out New York women from the experience of which she boasts.

THE one progressive spot in the East appears to be Schenectady. Woman suffrage carried Schenectady county; Dr. George R. Lunn of the Socialist party was elected mayor; Dr. Charles Steinmetz, Socialist and electrical engineer, was chosen president of the common council. The Socialists have elected two aldermen and five supervisors. This vote is very significant. Dr. Lunn was elected mayor in 1911, and defeated for re-election in 1913. Now the people, after trying an old party administration for two years, have returned to him. The vote indicates that he is elected because the Republicans and Democrats could not maintain the fusion which defeated him two years ago. Dr. Lunn goes into office with the label Socialist, but with a point of view which in the West would be regarded simply as progressive. He and Dr. Steinmetz are unquestionably the two most enlightened men in the public life of Schenectady, and they have won because of what they are likely to do now rather than because of what their platform promises for the distant future. Theirs is a victory based on the division of the old parties, on the strength of labor and Socialist sentiment in the town, but above all on the personal popularity of the candidates. Dr. Steinmetz is an engineer of national reputation, and in a city devoted to engineering work he is trusted and affectionately admired. Dr. Lunn is a gallant campaigner, and one of the shrewdest politicians in New York State politics. He is elected by the non-Socialist progressives who hold the balance of power in Schenectady.

MASSACHUSETTS has again become Republican, but by a narrow and precarious margin. It was on the whole a Republican state until the general unsettling of political conditions in 1910, helped by the personal following of Eugene Foss, made that erratic personality the successful Democratic Governor. The breach in the Republican wall was continued through the Progressive secession in 1912, finally culminating a year later in a reduction of the Republican ticket to third place in the state election. Then the tide of public opinion turned. In Massachusetts, as elsewhere, people lost interest in the propaganda of ideas. Business depression and the revival of a merely traditional opposition to a peculiarly partisan Democratic national administration gradually revived old Republican bonds. The reaction justified itself as opposition to alleged misrule by Governor Walsh. In truth Walsh is a capable, honest, industrious, Irish-Catholic official, progressive in purpose but weak of will, and unconsciously limited by his narrow traditions and environment, not the least of which is the pervasive influence of the very reactionary Cardinal O'Connell. This fear of an increasingly pernicious influence of the Catholic hierarchy on the public service and politics of the state constitutes an increasingly decisive element in the local situation in Massachusetts—very much more decisive than any newspaper or any politician dares admit in public. The Republican ticket took advantage of the opposition to Wilson and to Walsh and made a strong bid for the renewed allegiance of the Progressive seceders. They wrote a platform which sounded sufficiently progressive, and in this way secured a large proportion of the Progressive vote, although the Republican candidate, newly baptized in progressivism, had a consistent record for ultra-conservative action. They have won a victory, and have promoted McCall into a candidate for the Presidency. It remains to be seen how far they are really "reformed," and how progressive ideas will fare in the hands of their former enemies.

WHEN we started THE NEW REPUBLIC a year ago we realized that such a journal, devoting a large proportion of its contents to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opinion, and trying to find without the usual forms of advertising its right public, must be an experiment. Its circulation to-day, although not yet large enough to make it self-supporting, is larger than anyone thought it would be at the end of the first year. Readers who differ among themselves and from us in opinion have been tolerant of the attempt to apply ideas we believe in to political, social and economic problems. They have responded to the attempt to show the relations between these problems, to point out the national character of the problem which seems merely local at first sight, the international character of questions which have often been discussed as if the United States could live alone in the world. People whose conclusions are not ours have accepted our invitation to think things over together. What success we have had has been founded on the interest which leads an open-minded and inquiring reader to tell other people about THE NEW REPUBLIC, and this must be the basis of the greater success we hope for.

TWO events in California have thrown into silhouette the absurdity of allowing national political parties to determine state issues. The first of these was a speech made at the National Convention of Railway Commissioners in San Francisco, concerning Governor Whitman's failure to reappoint Mr. Milo R. Maltbie to the New York Public Service Commission. Mr. Maltbie's striking abilities and fine integrity are patent; the speaker readily acknowledged them. But the "defense" of the governor was based upon grave political exigencies. It seems that Mr. Maltbie was at the time of his appointment to the Commission, and even throughout his entire devoted and intelligent performance of his extremely technical duties, a Democrat. Governor Whitman was elected as a Republican. Consequently—the speaker was a little disappointed that people could be so obtuse—was it not obvious that when Mr. Maltbie's term expired, Governor Whitman should select a Republican in his stead? The gentleman could not understand how the question of merit had slipped into the discussion. Trivial and obscure as are such remarks, they obtain significance from the second of the two California incidents, for the second was a matter of newspaper headlines: the defeat of the Non-Partisan law by referendum. The California electorate rejected a plan of responsible executive leadership and declared for the continuation of harum-scarum party control. The result appears almost an aberration in a state dominated by progressive ideas. Many explanations are offered: a blunder of misunderstanding, possibly; a gesture of apprehension; or the people may have been jaded with propaganda. One would like to believe, however, that the defeat of non-partisanship in California was due chiefly to the failure of the voters to hear and understand the excuses offered by the gentleman from New York for the conduct of Governor Whitman. One would like to do so; but one can't.

CERTAIN advocates of preparedness are showing an ugly disposition to cry down, as a pacifist dodge, every suggestion for the elimination of waste in the administration of the army and navy. This is precisely the way to prejudice the cause of preparedness. It would be difficult to find an intelligent civilian who does not know that a considerable proportion of the sums now appropriated for the army and navy produces no valuable result. A deep impression was created by Secretary Stimson's statement in 1911 that our forty-nine army posts "have been located in their present situations for reasons that are now totally obsolete." We are still keeping up all but five or six of these anachronistic posts, although by concentration we could save over five millions annually and increase the effectiveness of our mobile army. Only the peace-at-any-price party can view this condition with equanimity. According to the extreme pacifist doctrine, appropriations that actually produce effective military and naval units are more perniciously wasted than appropriations that merely stimulate local business and sustain the price of local real estate.

WHETHER waste in military and naval budgets can be entirely prevented under our present system of financial control is extremely doubtful. With every Congressman fighting resolutely for his own district it is practically impossible to abolish an army post or a naval station, however ill adapted to modern conditions. Suppose that the military authorities are agreed that Fort Crook has outlived its usefulness as an army post. There is a certain Congressman who will lose his seat if the post is abolished; his vote, together with the votes of other Congressmen in a similar case, will overrule the best considered plans of the military department. Our fatal weakness lies in the diffusion of responsibility for the introduction of appropriation bills. If we had an intelligent budget system the obsolete military posts and naval stations could not survive a single Congress. No responsible finance minister in the world would dare to defend such leaks in his national treasury. Until recently our federal revenues have sufficed, even with unlimited waste in appropriations, But we appear to be approaching an era of more difficult financiering. Expenditures are certain to increase if we undertake to place our army and navy on a modern footing, and we can no longer assume that the neces-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sary increase in revenues can be had without difficulty. We shall be compelled to make the most of our existing resources. And this involves the devising of a workable budget system. Such a system is a necessary element in preparedness, for peace or war.

IT was a foregone conclusion that the Supreme Court would overturn the Arizona Anti-Alien law. The whole structure of our international relations would have been shaken if a state had been upheld in its attempt to deny aliens their treaty right to equality under the law. The requirement that every employer of more than five persons should not employ aliens beyond one-fifth of his personnel meant much more than a purely formal infringement upon aliens' rights. In many cases it meant a denial of the right of aliens, lawfully in the state, to earn a living. In condemning the Anti-Alien law, however, we should not overlook the fact that states like Arizona have a very serious problem in the mining or industrial camps financed by absentee capital, manned by alien labor, and governed despotically by a little group of higher employees. In such camps nothing like an American form of local government is possible. The anti-alien law attempted to substitute, for an exploited body of aliens, citizen laborers, by education and temperament fitted to check the arbitrary tendencies of mining camp capitalism. The purpose was good, though the method was bad. The Arizona democracy must devise some method of controlling the situation without resort to measures that are both unconstitutional and inequitable.

ON November 29th the National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits will meet in Chicago. A comprehensive program, occupying four days of conferences, is in preparation. The whole array of questions concerning the standardization and marketing of products, the relation of landlord and tenant, the provision of credit for land purchase and improvement will be thoroughly discussed. While the list of speakers has not been completed, it is announced that David Lubin and Sir Horace Plunkett will present papers. We ought not to lose sight of the fact that in the production and marketing of farm products there remains a field for the employment of our capital safer and more lucrative than the foreign fields upon which we are casting eager eyes. Capital cannot, however, place itself at the command of agriculture until we create an organization adapted to our peculiar needs. The Chicago conference may be expected to advance us toward an understanding of the principles upon which such an organization must rest.

Government According to Law

IN the illuminating study of "Administrative Mobilization" published in another part of this issue, Mr. Graham Wallas winds up a discussion of what the United States might do in peace in order to prepare specifically for war with a startling piece of advice. He suggests the United States would be much better prepared for war in case its Constitution were not so difficult to amend. He says: "I have myself sometimes thought that if I were an American citizen I should concentrate all my own political efforts on a proposal for a constitutional amendment having the single purpose of making more easy the carrying within a reasonable time of other constitutional amendments desired by a majority of the people."

The suggestion deserves more consideration than it will receive. The average member of Congress would be irritated or amused at the idea of preparing for the possibility of war by the amendment of the amending clause of the Constitution. The average lawyer would wax indignant at the notion of making preparedness for war the pretext for laying profane hands upon the article in the Constitution which safeguards against violation all its other salutary provisions. If an administration which was responsible to Congress, instead of being independent of congressional control, proposed the amendment of Article V as part of a general plan of preparation, it would be unceremoniously dismissed from office. Yet the need is obvious. Can any lawyer affirm that the United States could fight a war such as the one in which Great Britain is now engaged without a more or less systematic violation of the Constitution? It would inevitably result in an aggrandizement of executive, congressional and national power, similar to that which took place during the Civil War, but to a much greater extent. A government which was obliged to suspend the payment of debts, take over the railroads and subordinate the industry of the country to military purposes could not, even with the connivance of the Supreme Court, preserve the appearance of legal conformity. The successful conduct of a serious modern war involves the consequence against which the Constitution was particularly designed to protect American states and citizens—an all-powerful government, which, if fortified by popular consent, could dispose according to its own judgment of the economic and human resources of the nation.

The majority of Americans still shrink from removing the legal obstacles to the organization of an all-powerful national government, because they have no confidence in the ability of popular opinion to employ discreetly or to control sufficiently such a formidable engine of political authority. They pre-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fer to have the government directed and subjugated by a somewhat inaccessible body of law rather than by an all too accessible body of public opinion. The preference is supposed to be a logical consequence of the radically constitutional nature of the American democracy. We may accept the description. Our democracy must be essentially constitutional, but its quality of being constitutional carries with it no such consequence. A nation without sufficient self-confidence to organize and operate a government capable of being flexibly adapted to the serious practical emergencies of its own career, is trying to dispense with the spiritual foundation of all thoroughgoing democracy. It is basing itself on suspicion and misgivings rather than on loyalty and courage. And as a consequence of proving false to the spirit of democracy it will eventually lose hold on its precious constitutionalism, for its legal machinery will break down unless it is moulded and informed by the democratic principle of ultimate popular control of all the machinery and instruments of government.

Conservative American political opinion is justified in attaching a huge importance to constitutionalism. Respect for legal procedure is an indispensable safeguard of the integrity of a democratic commonwealth. A system of government according to law furnishes the citizens of a democratic state with a rough but sufficient method of distinguishing between fair and unfair play. In the absence of constitutionalism the government is, as it were, authorized to cheat—that is, to suit its own convenience in ignoring or accepting uniform rules of action. But a government which is authorized to cheat inevitably breeds suspicion and disloyalty among its citizens. Their only effective remedy for serious grievances is revolution, because orderly agitation is futile as a weapon against a disorderly government. Government according to law is consequently a condition of orderly agitation for the redress of grievances. Without it the mutual good faith among the citizens of a democratic nation which has been called the spiritual foundation of democracy could not exist.

It is because we attach so much importance to government according to law that we advocate so emphatically the amendment of the amending clause of the Constitution. A body of law which can be changed only slowly and with enormous difficulty invites and provokes lawlessness, because in such a body of law no sufficient provision can be made for grave and unexpected crises. The law can be adapted to ordinary social and economic changes by an organ of benevolent interpretation such as the Supreme Court, but the Supreme Court can modify the law only in minor ways and by imperceptible degrees. If it connived at frank and clear violations of the Constitution, even in a crisis, it would undermine its own authority. Yet its failure to acquiesce and conform in the case of a serious national emergency would not prevent the violation from taking place. As long as unexpected crises and revolutionary convulsions are bound to occur in the life of every nation, a system of government according to law should be contrived to deal with them legally. If they cannot be handled legally, the impulse of self-preservation will force the nation to adopt illegal remedies.

The chief obstacle to the amendment of the amending clause of the Constitution is not a strong conviction of the value of government according to law. It is that very different thing, a conviction of the value of government by law. The friends of government by law insist that the Constitution must be left extremely difficult of amendment because it enshrines a body of authoritative political dogma which governments should not be allowed to repudiate under any conditions. The contention raises much matter for controversy. We do not believe any such body of achieved political dogmas can reasonably be held to exist; and if they do exist we feel certain they are not embodied in the Constitution. But assuming that they do exist and are embodied in the Constitution, a government consecrated to their recognition and service could not be accurately described as a constitutional democracy. It really is a system of autocratic legalism—a monarchy of constitutional principle. It would be autocratically legalistic, because the salvation of the state would be made to depend upon conformity to a supreme set of rules rather than upon popular good faith and increasing popular political ability and experience. The law would be raised on high like a monarch, inaccessible, privileged and inviolate. The first duty of every good citizen would be not merely to obey the law as law, but to believe in it as the living and saving political truth.

That this autocracy of the American constitutional system has had its benefits in the past can scarcely be denied. The Constitution has performed for the American people a service similar to that which their kings have performed for the European nations. It has bound us together during a period of political adolescence. In the beginning a nation needs a fixed landmark, which it must accept without question, from which it must not be allowed to stray very far, and on which its loyalty must be fastened. But such a landmark is needed, not as the advocates of government by law would have us believe, to prevent the nation from subsequently adventuring a journey of its own, but to prevent it from going astray until it is old enough and educated enough to profit from traveling. The American people know all they need to know about

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the country surrounding their ancient landmark. They have exhausted its sources of moral subsistence. Unless they prefer to stand still they must break away and lay out a new route in comparatively unexplored country. The laying out of such a route is imposed upon Americans because they claim to be a self-governing democracy. If they refuse to move on they will forfeit their right to be called a democracy, because they will refuse to assume responsibility for their own behavior and destiny. They will be shirking the opportunity to exercise control over their own collective life. But when they move on, as, willy nilly, they must, they can show that they have profited by their prosperous sojourn under the shadow of a presumably righteous law. They can take with them, not a body of truth which will save them from sin and error, but the will to govern themselves according to the most adequate law that their aspiration and intelligence can manufacture out of their experience.

Preparedness—A Trojan Horse

THE first impulse of reformers was to regard the preparedness campaign in this country as a red herring. On second thought they seem to have decided that social reform may be attached as a rider to military preparedness, and with unanswerable logic they point out that the necessities of war are driving the nations of Europe to adopt large helpings of what used to be regarded as crazy idealism. There is no answer to them when they say that successful war is impossible to-day for a nation that clings to a *laissez-faire* policy about property, business, labor, and social organization. Preparedness is the Trojan horse most in fashion at the moment. Reformers are not ashamed to confess that they regard the fear of war as an excellent way of improving the establishment of peace.

Nor is there anything double-faced about the idea. The underlying notion of modern radicalism has been to substitute a conscious social control for accident and confusion, to unify the nation's resources so that they can be used for a purpose. The purpose of reformers is the enhancement of human life. The purpose of war is the focussing of a maximum force. They may be contradictory purposes. But they are both purposes, and luckily for mankind a social organization which is efficient is as useful for the one as for the other. So whether our personal emphasis is on the realities of peace or the necessities of war, however much we may disagree about the objects of national policy we are forced to agree that a planless, drifting uncontrolled society is no longer fit to survive in the modern world.

When we think of America from the point of view suggested by Mr. Graham Wallas elsewhere in this issue, its unpreparedness is desperate. Merely to mention some of the measures which war requires is to draw up a staggering indictment. A great struggle means immediate financial disorder. In England it meant, in the early days of August, 1914, the putting through of a series of measures which a few weeks earlier would have seemed the limit of audacity. The moratorium, the support of the discount market, the backing up of insurance, the breaking of monopolies in food, the prevention of hoarding, required a use of the highest kind of governmental initiative. Preparedness would mean that these measures had been planned ahead, that men knew what they were to do.

Modern war implies a concerted use of the railroad, telegraph, telephone, postal, and wireless services. Are our systems of communication capable of coördination at short notice? Is anyone preparing a plan by which the constitutional difficulties can be circumvented and a powerful national control imposed? Modern war requires the commandeering of much private property. Is anyone studying what property would have to be taken, what the terms would be, what the procedure, and what the administrative technique? Modern war requires a very flexible factory system with men adaptable enough to turn quickly from one kind of work to another. Is the government planning to make a survey of our industrial assets so that they can be mobilized effectively? Modern war is a relentless test of organization. The transition from a peace basis means temporary unemployment, mal-employment, destitution, food scarcity. The raising of armies means the creation of large numbers of dependent women and children who require pensions and relief. These needs can be handled only by a large administrative machine composed of men with expert knowledge. Our present method of foozling with unemployment, sickness, age, and infancy, would break down utterly in a war that really tested the nation.

But there is one lesson from England which overshadows all the rest. It is that no matter how well the governmental machinery is improvised, it will not work without the active coöperation of labor unions. Fought as dangers to the state, regarded as a menace to security, they have proved themselves to be organizations which the nation cannot do without. Labor unionism has shown itself to be as much a part of the structure of society as the war department or the foreign office. Labor leaders have become ex-officio members of the government, for just as the administration has to deal with clearing houses, chambers of commerce, engineering societies, so it has to deal with the natural groupings of labor. Even the most hard-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ened Tory knows to-day that the support of workingmen can be purchased only by a recognition of their power.

It has been shown that the disrespect meted out to labor in time of peace is paid for in time of war. People who have never been admitted to a share in government, people who have been regarded as irresponsible outsiders, do not suddenly accept responsibility and become willing national servants at the sound of the trumpet. You cannot bawl people into patriotism, you cannot shout and stamp your foot and expect to produce loyalty. Patriotism is a facile emotion which seems to unify in the first moments of excitement. But the grind of war brings out the weak strains, and people who have had no share in a society, no share in power, have not the background of associations and memories which produce a high resistance and a firm purpose.

A planless society cannot suddenly become purposeful, a disrupted people cannot achieve a lasting unity, a nation corrupted by bitter feuds, by rankling injustice, by thoughtless education will reveal itself hideously in time of war. Those who are complacent about the horrors of peace will have to admit this. If they have not the courage and the intelligence to deal with the problem for its own sake, they may at least be ready to deal with it for the sake of military preparedness.

Crime in Chicago

THE appointment of a new " Crime Commission " in Chicago while the findings of the recent aldermanic " Committee on Crime " are still, as it were, warm from the press, seems to indicate an increased public concern over a neglected subject. The report of the City Council Committee on Crime, of which Professor Charles E. Merriam was chairman, brought out clearly two different aspects of the problem: (1), in the words of the report, " that professional criminals escape the penalties of the law and prey at will upon society"; (2), that the jails and prison houses of Chicago, designed for the persons who elude or escape the police, are filled with " poor and petty criminals " or persons who are not guilty of any crime at all. The chairman of the Committee laid most stress upon Chicago's failure to apprehend and to deal with the habitual criminal, but the other aspect of the crime problem—the wrongs of the poor who suffer from unjust arrests and imprisonment—is perhaps of greater importance to society in the long run.

To abolish or amend the iniquitous system by which men are imprisoned not for their crimes but for their poverty has for many generations been the cherished hope of a host of earnest men and women seeking the ends of social justice. Sober reformers like John Howard, enthusiasts like Dickens, and courageous women like Elizabeth Fry gave blood and tears to this cause. It is now nearly a hundred and fifty years since John Howard made the English people understand the difference between the imprisonment of " felons " who had been found guilty and sentenced, and the imprisonment in the same jails of persons who were held in prison merely because they were too poor to pay their fines and fees or to furnish the necessary bail for release pending trial. Indeed the cause is older than John Howard, for one Thomas Firmin, so long ago as 1678, in his pamphlet dealing with " Some Proposals for the Imploying of the Poor," described the work of one man who " within little more than two years with the charity of some worthy persons hath delivered out of Prison above five hundred poor people who lay there either for their fees or for very small debts." But this seventeenth century philanthropist found that he was engaged in sweeping back the tides of the sea and could only reflect that in spite of his efforts the great gaols of seventeenth century London were still " very full " of poor prisoners. There could be no relief until the iniquitous system of imprisonment for poverty should be abolished.

So the recent report of the Chicago Crime Committee showed that to-day the jails are still " very full " of poor prisoners, and that many thousands of men and boys suffer the penalties of unjust arrest and imprisonment every year. To put this concretely: The report of the Crime Committee showed that out of 109,764 persons arrested in a single year less than ten per cent were arrested on felony charges. The great mass of persons arrested—90 out of every 100—were arrested for trivial offenses or for no offense at all, as evidenced by their discharge in court. That few arrests were for serious offenses is clear from the disposition of the cases in court. Only 2,182 (2 per cent) were held for the grand jury, only 141 (.001 per cent) were sentenced to the county jail, only 1,935 (1.8 per cent) were sentenced to the House of Correction, only 40 per cent of the total number were fined, and the others, more than half of all the persons arrested, were discharged in the municipal court.

Surely these are small consequences as a result of all the misery involved in nearly 110,000 arrests. No statistics are kept showing how many of these men and boys spent one or more nights in the police stations, or one or more weeks in the county jail, but the number, judging from the information at hand, must run well up to 50,000, if not beyond. And it must be emphasized that the hardships involved in needless arrests are hardships that fall almost exclusively upon the poor. The well-to-do are not arrested for trivial offenses. The system that involves the arrest of thousands of men and boys every year for offenses so slight that no judge

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will even fine them is a system of which the poor may be said to be the exclusive victims. In the courts they have no one to speak for them; they do not know how to speak for themselves; they are declared not guilty and discharged, but nothing is done to alter the system that makes it possible for this misery to continue.

Moreover, a study of the report shows that even the prisoners who were sentenced were in the vast majority of cases sentenced because of their poverty. Thus out of 14,709 prisoners in the House of Correction, 12,124, or 82 per cent of the whole number, were there only because they were too poor to pay the small fines imposed upon them. An examination of the House of Correction records for a period of four years showed that the number of persons imprisoned for the non-payment of fines ranged from 82 to 87 per cent of all the persons imprisoned during that time, and more than half of these persons were committed for fines of less than $20. According to the report of the Committee, these fines are "laid out" in the Bridewell at the rate of fifty cents a day, and the fines are therefore paid, in reality, in two ways: (1) by the taxpayers, for the expense of maintaining Bridewell prisoners is forty-six cents per man per day and the total cost of maintenance in a year is nearly $300,000; and (2) by the men and their families in the privation and deep humiliation that they suffer; the report notes that "this system which virtually sends men to jail because of their poverty is not only unjust but demoralizing to the individual and costly to the state."

The other great harvest of Chicago's prisoners is stored in the Cook county jail. The Committee's report showed that out of 8,593 persons who were held in this jail last year the vast majority were prisoners only because they were too poor to furnish bail pending trail; only 621 of the whole number were, when tried, found guilty and sentenced to the state reformatory or penitentiary or county jail. Seven hundred and sixty-four others were sent to the House of Correction, but the majority of these were committed, as has been said, not because of their crimes, unless poverty be a crime, but because they could not pay the small fines imposed upon them. Thus something like 90 per cent of the prisoners in the steel cages of Cook county's medieval jail are there only because they cannot furnish bail during the period that the law is taking its slow and uncertain course. The law of Illinois provides that any person awaiting trial may be released on bail "except in capital offenses where the proof is evident or the presumption great." The report of the Committee showed only 219 persons who were held on non-bailable offenses. The thousands of men and boys locked up every year in the jail, then, are not imprisoned for any crime, they are not found guilty when they are tried. Only a very small percentage are given any kind of a jail sentence when they finally come to trial, and the others, about seven thousand every year, become "jail-birds" and suffer the penalty of imprisonment only because they are too poor to provide the necessary bonds.

It is important to note the data collected by the Crime Committee regarding the length of time these unfortunate men and boys were held awaiting trial. The report showed that while the majority of them were there for less than one month, 1,660 of them were kept in jail for periods varying from four weeks to sixty-three weeks. There was not sufficient evidence against some of these men even to secure an indictment by the Grand Jury, and it appears that 251 of the men against whom "no bills" were returned were held in jail for periods ranging from two to sixteen weeks, which means that a terrible punishment was inflicted upon people whose offenses did not justify their being held for trial.

In 1910, when the International Prison Congress met in Washington, the foreign delegates were taken to various cities in the country to examine their jails and prisons. Everywhere the delegates expressed horror and surprise at the spectacle of hundreds or thousands of presumably innocent persons locked up in cells merely awaiting trial. Over and over again they exclaimed, "In Europe this condition would never be tolerated." Only in the "land of freedom" could freemen be deprived of their liberty in this way.

It is to be hoped that Chicago's new Commission will concern itself not only with the escape of professional criminals but with the arrest of innocent persons and the imprisonment of men whose only crime is their poverty.

The New
REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1915, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., 421 WEST TWENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT. ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREASURER.

EDITORS

HERBERT CROLY — WALTER LIPPMANN
PHILIP LITTELL — FRANCIS HACKETT
WALTER E. WEYL — CHARLOTTE RUDYARD
ALVIN S. JOHNSON

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, FOUR DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. SINGLE COPIES TEN CENTS. CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION FOUR DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR COUNTRIES IN THE POSTAL UNION, FIVE DOLLARS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

REMITTANCE TO BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDER. ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For a Disciplined Patriotism

IF military autocracy survives this war, the only way in which western freedom can compete with it is by a moral mobilization under freedom equal to the moral mobilization under autocracy. It is an extraordinary disgrace that precisely in those lands where freedom in a political sense is greatest, individualistic disregard of the public consequences of conduct, and political disregard of the effects upon the individual of social and economic policies, should also be greatest.

Germany, steering by the lode-star of national integrity and national effectiveness, has made every effort to create a public-minded attitude in every subject, and to that end has seen to it that life is made tolerable for every subject, as witness her forehanded enterprises of social insurance. The Anglo-Saxon nations, on the other hand, steering toward the goal of freedom, have permitted their citizens to drift into the illusion that life belongs only to the individual, who both morally and politically ought to be left unrestrained. Only war is conceived to necessitate the subordination of private inclinations to public interests. Under the inspiration of such a popular philosophy, government has naturally concerned itself with furthering the most vociferous of individual inclinations, at least until within about a decade, rather than with systematically creating a close-knit and serviceable attitude of social coöperation to national ends.

Our patriotism has been a good deal like that diffuse and conventional type of religion which is chiefly utilized for the opening of public meetings and for facing death, but in the intervals between ceremony and crisis receives scant attention indeed. Patriotism in its cruder forms, complicated with racial and religious antipathies, is of course at bottom responsible for the present war. Without the universal hypnosis of a traditional fight-bleed-and-die patriotism there could be no world war, but the eradication of patriotism, rooting deeply as it does in human nature, is not the cure for war. The internationalism of the future can be, after all, only the patriotism of to-day, somewhat refined and operating in a higher order of magnitude. The best preparation for that time, " der Tag " of humanity, is the transformation of patriotism into an instrument suited to the work of the twentieth century.

Strangely enough, it fell to the lot of autocracy in the nineteenth century first to appropriate and fully exploit physical and social science in the service of state-building. When it seemed as if nothing could long hold back the flood-tide of democracy, the idea of state-building in accordance with the virgin scientific knowledge which " the wonderful century " was accumulating, and which other nations as nations were merely writing in books, formed itself more or less consciously in the mind of those officially and spiritually attached to the Prussian governmental machine. It is not really strange that where the need was most urgent from the point of view of autocracy, there the new instrumentalities of national greatness should have been appraised most nearly at their true worth. Philosophy had kindled in the German mind the splendid dream of the state, but it was science which brought the dream to realization. Thus by the applications of science and psychology and social economics, Germany has organized the total life and thought of her people as no equal body of men and women have ever been organized since time began.

The German mind was in a particularly favorable attitude during the later decades of the century for the acceptance of these new disciplines, material and spiritual. Somewhat as the immigrant at Ellis Island, his past life submerged by the consciousness of a new destiny, is ready to subject himself to a new set of political and social traditions, so Germany, stirred by her expanding national consciousness, thrilled at the prospects which presented themselves. England, on the other hand, had sunk into the mental condition seen in some of our old American families whose eyes are fixed in pleasant revery upon Colonial names and scenes. The onward German, with eyes and plans for the future like the unretrospective immigrant upon our shores, bade fair to be a supplanter, a veritable Jacob, disdaining the gratifications of a senile traditionalism joined to a petulant and childish individualism.

With his new discoveries in statecraft, his new disciplines and power, the German flings his challenge to the world: " Here is a new thing under the sun, a new thing, you old nations, you proud nations, you barbarously ill-organized nations, you loose-knit puppy republics of the Occident—listen to our formula of culture, or we will prove it upon you with cannon and torpedoes." Can the free state take up this challenge? Or will autocratic power continue to excel in the effective organization of its individual units into a working whole? It seems indisputable that up to the present it has so excelled, due to the fact that it first appropriated the new physical and social instrumentalities which the nineteenth century made available for state-building, and due also to the fact that by this successful adventure in national economy and social organization, following as it did three successful wars, like-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wise sources of national confidence, it created in its subjects a sense of onwardness combined with a disciplined loyalty hardly before available in history.

Is such a disciplined loyalty possible in a free state? The achievements of several of the smaller nations of Europe, notably Denmark, strongly suggest an affirmative answer. Little can be accomplished, however, unless citizens are taught, through the agency of our universal popular education, what is involved in membership in political society. We have been brought up from infancy to rejoice that government is not our master but our creature—it is of the people, by the people, and for the people; this is no doubt a worthy philosophy of government and one for which the whole world is groaning and travailing together in the present crisis. No greater calamity than the discrediting of this idea of the subordination of constituted authority to the constitutors of authority could be thought of; but the idea is liable to be discredited if the citizen of free states is satisfied to close his creed with this impressive enunciation of the subjection of governments. There is a complementary doctrine little enough professed in democratic lands, to the effect that the individual is of the state, is protected solely by the state, and ought to live in a constant and voluntary subordination of his personal inclinations to the good of the state. Citizens must cease to regard government as a sort of hired man—a good and harmless "raggedy man."

The disciplined loyalty which in future will make nations great is not primarily a function of military preparation; military preparation is rather one phase, and that a minor one, of disciplined loyalty. The problem is one of rendering available for the everyday uses of the nation that fine enthusiasm of self-devotion which the tomtom and the bugle call out in savage and civilized alike when the enemy approaches.

The security of the future will rest less upon the self-sentencing of the citizen to death by battle than upon the self-control of the citizen who is ready to do in life whatever the good of the state demands. If the public interest requires him to marry, he will marry and rear children; if it requires his sort to remain single, he will renounce life fractionally as loyally as he would renounce it upon the red battlefield. If the public interest requires him to renounce a field of investment, or to contribute hours or days of public service, or to abstain from this or that indulgence for the good of society, he will do its behests because he has been taught from a boy that only as a state is single-minded and knit together in every task and relation, only as its citizens feel more honor in furthering the public good than in satisfying their own souls, can his beloved country and all his brother citizens be happy and secure.

Of course all this sounds Utopian in time of peace, but if one had "bene with me in Utopia and had presently sene theire fasshions and lawes," by which all this follows as a matter of course, one would wish to see the effects of a trial, at least, of real education in what it means to be a citizen of a free state, in terms not of Bunker Hill and Fort Sumter, but of the twentieth century and the long years of peace which roll with such ill-appreciated significance between the lurid wars.

It is curious that the most vital of all knowledge has so long been left in the imparting to the precarious chance of oral tradition. From a practical point of view nothing can matter more than the ideas the young citizen entertains on the subjects of his own means of self-support, the begetting and rearing of children, and the manifold relations which his life sustains to the commonwealth. Yet these are precisely the fields in which the school has done little more than borrow and repeat the pious and usually obsolete platitudes of oral tradition. It may take another war to make the world democratic, but the guns of von Hindenburg and Mackensen at least will thunder into the heart of nations the lesson of the value of a deliberately wrought patriotism, scientifically ascertained and scientifically imparted, and consecrated, it is to be hoped, to a worthier object than the various nationalisms and imperialisms of the year 1914.

ERVILLE B. WOODS.

A Spiritual Drama: The Life of Man

THIS gloomy and tragical story begins as follows:

On the sixth floor of a great stone house there stood in various attitudes three persons who were engaged in a rather animated conversation.

A woman was holding, with her beautiful round arms, a sheet over her breast, forgetting that the sheet could not simultaneously serve the additional purpose of concealing also her bared knees, which were slender; the woman was weeping, and in the intervals betweeen her sobs was saying:

"Oh, Ivan! I swear to you that I am not guilty . . . It's all his . . . He turned my head, and forced me and all that, I swear it, against my will! I struggled . . ."

One of the men, who had not removed his coat and hat, was gesticulating violently and saying, not without reproach, to the third person in the room:

"Scoundrel! I'll show you pretty quick how I'll croak you like a dog, and the law'll be on my side, too! You will pay for the sufferings of this poor creature, miserable tempting serpent!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The third person in the room was a young man, not clothed at the present moment with too great completeness, but nevertheless comporting himself with great dignity.

"Well, what have I . . . I've done nothing," he replied, sadly glancing towards an empty corner of the room.

"Nothing, eh? Well, take this, you dog!"

The powerful man in the hat pushed open the window facing the street, took by the scruff of the neck the incompletely clad gentleman, and hurled him out of the window. . . .

After appearing in the air, the young man timidly buttoned his vest, and having whispered to himself as a consolation: "Well—failures develop character!" he fell downward.

He had not yet reached the next story, the fifth, in his downward flight, when from his breast there burst a heavy sigh. The recollection of the woman whom he had just deserted, in its bitterness spoiled for him the charm he might have experienced in his sensation of flight.

"Heavens!" thought the young man bitterly, "how I loved her! And yet she did not have grit enough to confess everything to her husband! God be with her! I feel now that she is far from me and indifferent to me!"

At this last thought he had already arrived at the fifth story, and as he flew by the window he looked into it with some curiosity.

At a rickety table, his head supported on his hands, a young student sat reading a book. The flying gentleman, catching sight of him, recalled his own life, recalled that thus far he had spent it in foolish social pleasures, forgetful of learning, of his books, and he felt a longing for the light of knowledge, for the revelation of the secrets of nature to his eager mind, for the transports of delight before the genius of the great masters of the world.

"Dear, dear student," he wished to shout to the reading man, "you have reawakened my latent longings and have cured me of my empty dallying with the vanity of this life, which has just brought me so sad a disappointment in the sixth story."

Yet, not wishing to take the student from his work, the young man did not shout this, but flew to the fourth story, and here his thoughts took a different turn. His heart contracted with a sweet and ominous pain, and his head was seized with rapture and reverence.

By the window of the fourth story there sat a young girl who, having a sewing-machine before her, was sewing something. Yet her fair white arms for a moment had forgotten their labor, and her eyes, whose blue was that of the cornflowers, dreamily and sadly looked at some far-off thing.

The young man could hardly tear away his glance from this sight, and in his heart there grew and spread a feeling that was new and great and strong. And he understood that all his former affairs with women were naught but empty infatuations, and that he was only now learning the meaning of that strange, mysterious word love. And he felt a longing for quiet family life, for a tender, devotedly loving creature, for the smiles of a joyous and peaceful existence.

The following floor, which he was passing at this moment, strengthened him even further in this determination.

In the window he saw a laughing mother, who, bouncing on her knees her chubby smiling youngster, was singing a quiet little song for him, and in her eyes there shone love and a sweet motherly pride.

"How I would love to marry the girl in the fourth story, and to have such lovely rosy kiddies as in the third story," thought the man. "And I should devote myself entirely to my family, and in this self-sacrifice I should find true happiness."

But he had already reached the second story. And the picture he saw in the window of this story caused his heart to shudder.

At a handsome writing-table a gentleman was sitting with wild and wandering eyes and hair disordered. He was looking fixedly at a photograph that stood before him. Simultaneously his right hand was writing a note, and his left was holding a revolver, the muzzle of which was pressed firmly to his temple.

"Madman, stop!" the young man in the air wished to shout to him. "Life is so beautiful!" But an instinctive feeling prevented him from doing so. The handsome furnishings of the apartment, its wealth and comfort, recalled to the young man's mind that there is something else in life, something that can dispel this comfort and this satisfaction and family life, something much more powerful and elemental and terrible.

"What is this thing?" thought the young man with a heavy heart, and as if intentionally, life gave him a harsh and unceremonious reply in the window of the first story, which he had now reached.

In the window, almost entirely concealed by the hangings, sat a young man coatless and vestless, and on his knees there sat a half-clad lady, encircling lovingly with her round pink arms the neck of her beloved, and warmly pressing her swelling breast against him. . . .

The young man remembered that he had seen this lady, in all her finery, taking a walk with her husband, but this man was not her husband. The latter was older, with black locks half turned gray, while this man had fair blond hair.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And the young man recalled the plans he had made not long ago—to study, after the model of the student in the fifth story, to marry the girl of the fourth story, to have a quiet family life as exemplified in the third story—and then his heart trembled. He recognized how ephemeral and unstable was the happiness of which he dreamed: he saw in the future, surrounding him and his wife, a whole band of young men with beautiful blond hair, he remembered the tortures of the man in the second story and the measures he was taking to free himself from these tortures; and he understood him.

"After all I have seen, life can hardly be worth the candle; it is stupid and troublesome," thought the young man, with a pained sarcastic laugh, and, contracting his brows, he flew down resolutely to the sidewalk of the street.

And his heart did not falter when his arm struck the flags of the pavement, and these now useless limbs being broken, he hurled his head against the these tortures; and he understood him.

When the crowd of curious spectators gathered about his motionnless corpse, not one of them had the slightest idea of what a profound and intricate spiritual drama this young man had passed through but a moment before.

—From the Russian of ARKADYI AVERCHENKO. Translated by JACOB WITTMER HARTMANN.

Mobilizing the Administration

AMERICA, like England, is normally organized for peace. But the most peaceful nation has sometimes to contemplate the possibility of having to organize itself for war, and as I write, the majority of the American people seem to think that that possibility is now in their case a real one. England during the last year has been organizing herself for war. In the interests of humanity I hardly dare to hope that America will enter the war. But if America does fight I certainly desire that she should be strong; and therefore I want to indicate a few scattered points as to which I believe that she may learn from our failures and successes.

The first point which I would urge is the obvious one that a nation which believes that war is a real possibility should set some of the best brains among its citizens to imagine war during peace, and so to secure that all the course of action which war will make necessary shall as far as possible have been thought out before war begins. However successfully that is done, there will be plenty of questions which can only be thought of when war comes, and time and brains should be left free to deal with them.

In August, 1914, the possibility of a great European war had been clear to our government since the "Panther" crisis of 1911, and it was known that in case of such a war a financial panic could only be avoided by vigorous action; yet it was not till the last moment that the British Treasury called in the aid of two or three patriotic financiers and decided on issuing a new currency. Not even the watermarked paper for such a currency was ready, and the notes had to be hastily and badly printed on unsuitable postal stamp-paper which happened to be in stock. Has the war-finance of the United States been already thought out, and are whatever documents or notes may be necessary already printed?

In certain other aspects we were much better prepared. Proclamations, for instance, as to mobilization were in print, some of them bearing a date in 1911 which had to be canceled. Not only in the War Office and the Admiralty but in certain other departments, committees on war arrangements had sat and had thought out their plans; so that the dispatch of our first expeditionary force to the Franco-Belgian frontier was quite excellently managed.

Experience has, however, shown that no one had foreseen the most difficult problems which would arise from a war waged on the modern scale and with modern intensity. It was not till the late spring of 1915 that it was realized that the clothing and equipment of our army would require the mobilization of British industry and commerce, and that British industry and commerce could not be mobilized by the Quartermaster General's department of the War Office. The whole training of a soldier unfits him to acquire the knowledge, patience and adaptability needed for dealing with trade unions and chambers of commerce; and even the civilian officials at the War Office had little experience in such matters. Before Mr. Lloyd George was made Minister of Munitions one heard of disastrous friction between the War Office and the Board of Trade, and to this moment I am not sure that a satisfactory definition of the difference between "munitions" and "supplies" has been agreed on. Have the United States War Department, Treasury, Department of Commerce and Department of Labor thoroughly thought out and delimited their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

respective spheres of industrial and commercial action in time of war?

Again, we had to improvise a censorship and a press bureau during the first days of the war. We did so badly enough, though we have somewhat reformed them since. In what department and acting under what legal powers could a censorship and a press bureau exist in the United States? Either it should be decided that no such offices will be required, or the necessary documents should be drawn up, and if possible the persons who will do the work actually chosen.

During the American Civil War the federal government used compulsion (not without very serious friction) to obtain recruits. We are now facing the possibility of compulsion, and find that little of the necessary intellectual preparation seems to have been made either for it or for doing without it. Has the United States government decided whether compulsion in America is a possible necessity? If such a necessity is believed to be possible, is there any plan in existence by which compulsion can be used under American conditions with the minimum of friction and industrial loss?

On the outbreak of a great war a modern state can obtain the services of many, perhaps most, of the very ablest men who in times of peace are engaged in civil pursuits. The difficulty is to bring their brains to bear upon the work. We can now see in England that it would have been wise to prepare beforehand in connection with each department a list of volunteers, and perhaps to have had a few private meetings in which the probable nature of each man's duties could have been indicated. The fact that we have succeeded in using volunteer intellectual work to the extent which has been done has been largely due to the existence of our permanent " class one " officials, trained from the beginning for varied administrative duties. These men have been " seconded " freely from department to department, and any one of them often finds himself providing the single nucleus of trained official experience in a department committee of business men and scientists. If I were an American citizen, that fact would constitute for me a serious argument in favor of the creation in the federal government of a corresponding permanent official type.

It will be noticed that as soon as we attacked the munitions problem we had to make a new department. This fact suggests that one of the most important points in the intellectual preparation for war should be a general consideration whether the existing government departments cover the whole ground of necessary action without either omission or overlapping. On this point I have held for the last ten years an opinion which I should despair of getting a less quick-minded people than the Americans to adopt. I believe that the present separation between the War Office and the Admiralty in all great states is a serious cause of possible weakness. The coöperation of our War Office and Admiralty in this war has, I believe, not caused much difficulty, largely perhaps because of the sharp warning that was given by the deadlock between the two departments which is said to have arisen in the crisis of 1911. But the distinction between sea and land fighting is becoming more and more artificial. Mr. Balfour, for instance, the other day stated that it had been a surprise to him to find that as First Lord of the Admiralty he was responsible for the air-defense of London. All British war operations, and still more all future war operations undertaken by the United States, must depend on the closest possible coöperation of military and naval forces. Both need guns and shells and men and flying machines and hospitals and pay and pensions; and the supplies available should be distributed as economically as possible among them. But effective coöperation cannot exist unless there are men whose training has been neither exclusively naval nor exclusively military. A flight-officer who cannot recognize the wave made by a submarine and twenty minutes later estimate the numbers of a marching column is less than half trained for his work; and on the higher questions of strategy both services need to learn from each other's experience, and to understand each other's arguments and objections to any combined war plan. Obviously therefore a maritime nation which desires to succeed in a modern war should have a genuine war staff trained to plan and direct operations alike below the sea surface, on the sea surface, on the land surface and in the air; and the first nation that does so will have an immense advantage in the next war.

Unfortunately one cannot improvise such a war staff by asking a couple of military and a couple of naval officers to sit at a table and advise a " Committee of Imperial Defense " composed of politicians. One must train in time of peace men who can really think and invent in terms of both arms. A man so trained will know less of land fighting than a specialized soldier, and less of sea fighting than a specialized sailor. But he will know infinitely more of combined action than either of them. As it is, either no really combined plans are formed, or they are formed by soldiers ignorant of the sea, or by sailors ignorant of land, or by civilians ignorant of both. Perhaps the greatest master of war that the English nation has ever produced was the seventeenth-century admiral and general Robert Blake. Blake was trained to fight and think both on land and at sea, and he was as successful in the Gulf of Tunis as we ought to have been at the Dardanelles.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If I were President Wilson I should at once put some of the ablest of my younger naval captains through the army staff course, to be followed by actual experience of command at least in manœuvers, and send some of the ablest of my colonels and majors to be trained in naval tactics. There would be friction, but the creation of material for a war-staff under a single Secretary for War, having under-secretaries for the Admiralty and the Army Office, would be at any rate begun.

I have written nothing, because I not qualified to write anything, on the most difficult of all American war problems, the relation in time of war between the federal and state governments. But that problem will have to be faced, and it is better that it should be faced in peace than in war. I indeed have sometimes thought that if I were an American citizen I should concentrate all my own political efforts on a proposal for a constitutional amendment having the single purpose of making more easy the carrying within a reasonable time of other constitutional amendments desired by a substantial majority of the people.

GRAHAM WALLAS.

An International Ship-Commission

(Economics of American Shipping: VI)

IN the course of its evolution, the policy of our government toward ocean shipping has passed through two phases. In its first phase a merchant marine was considered a national adjunct, an extended arm of American sovereignty, and it was on account of the allegiance which a vessel owed to the sovereign whose flag it bore that special protection was conferred and special duties and burdens were imposed. In its second phase, on which we are now embarked, all the shipping which plies to and from our shores, regardless of special allegiance by reason of nationality, is looked upon as a servant of American commercial needs and a potential employer of American labor. To make the service effective and the conditions of employment consistent with American standards has become the aim of our legislative policy. This phase was ushered in by the free ship legislation of the last Congress, its principles are embodied in the Seamen's law, and it should attain its fruition in the passage of a law establishing the much needed American maritime commission, with regulatory power over ocean traffic.

If we may hazard a glance into the future, it must become apparent that this second phase cannot be final. Any attempt to govern by national standards an international traffic has its inherent limitations. A vessel plying between Liverpool and New York must obey two masters. If their orders conflict, there is no court of appeal in which they can be harmonized. National regulation will always be the expression of national interests and ideals, and in so far as they differ from the ideals and interests of other nations conflict is inevitable. Moreover, any attempt on our part to make rigid requirements of vessels clearing and entering our ports may defeat its own end. Carriers can always turn to other routes where they will meet with a reception more to their liking. Especially is this true of the tramp steamer, the jitney of ocean traffic, plying where for the moment it is most profitable, without fixed rates, fixed route or sailing date, defying regulation by any instrument yet devised. Even if shipowners do not go so far as to boycott American ports, there is always the danger that they may gain the ear of some foreign government, and inspire retaliation against American shipping and commerce. These are a few of the obstacles which a policy of national regulation must encounter. The task which confronts the builders of the maritime policy of the future is world-wide in its scope. The political tools which they have inherited are inadequate because they are merely national.

To gain a conception of the ultimate futility of relying on antiquated political tools one has only to imagine what would have been the result if each state, rather than the federal government, had been given regulatory power over the vehicles of interstate commerce. The New York-Chicago express would have to conform to five independent administrative policies, publish and observe five separate rate schedules, obey five bodies of safety and liability law. As long as each state jealously guarded its own sovereignty, the most that it could do would be to work for the adoption of uniform legislation. But legislative regulation as an instrument of control has long been discarded. Short of complete public ownership, only centralized administrative control as exercised by the Interstate Commerce Commission can even hope to cope with the railroad system of the country. National regulation of ocean traffic is as ineffective as state regulation of interstate rail traffic. Something approaching legislative uniformity among nations is indeed possible. Such international conferences as the Brussels Conference on Maritime Law in 1910, and the London Conference on Safety at Sea in 1912, or the conferences prevented by the war, which were scheduled to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

discuss uniform load lines and uniformity in the laws relating to limitation of liability at London and Brussels in 1914, illustrate recent activity in this respect. But shipping can no more be regulated by legislation than can railroads.

The urgent demand of the future must be for a permanent international commission, with certain plenary powers over ocean shipping, a commission of a calibre and breadth of view which will enable it to formulate a policy grounded on international needs and shaped by an international ideal. The logic of such a program is compelling. Competition in ocean traffic is wasteful and demoralizing, and leads inevitably to combination and monopoly. Private monopoly of an essential transportation system must be subject to public control. Public control, to be effectively administered, must be international. Yet there is a glowing promise for the future in the dry logic of this concrete problem. Where peace congresses and sentiments of international brotherhood have failed, the exigencies of a practical problem of administration may succeed in laying the groundwork of international federation. It was just such a plain business problem, the need of national control of interstate commerce, which was so potent a factor in inducing the thirteen emancipated colonies to surrender a large part of their jealously guarded sovereignty to a central government. Ocean shipping has burst through the restraints and confines of nationalism. In politics they still bind and hamper us. Yet economic necessity has so often been the mother of political invention that it is more than a vain hope that it may here point the way to international political union.

It is unfortunately true that neither in Europe nor in the far East would we find at the present time much encouragement for any program involving a measure of national sacrifice for a higher international purpose. There is, however, nearer at home a field for the development of such a program which has immediate and practical possibilities. Many factors, some connected with the war and others independent of it, have served during the past few years to bring us into closer political and commercial relations with South American republics. Secretary Root's epoch-making tour through South America, the establishment of the Pan-American Union, the South American trip of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, the recent Pan-American Financial Conference in Washington, are some of the signs of this closer commercial union. On the political side there is the new development of the Monroe Doctrine under President Wilson's guidance, with its emphasis on Pan-American coöperation rather than on North American domination. It is generally recognized that the greatest barrier standing in the way of a closer commercial union is the need of improved means of communication. The special subcommittee on transportation and communication of the Pan-American Financial Conference last summer, composed of delegates from Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, recommended that the United States and the leading South American republics coöperate in establishing two fast lines of passenger and mail steamers, one to serve the ports of Brazil, Uruguay and Argentine, the other to serve Ecuador, Peru and Chile. The Chilean representative expressly recommended that the governments of the respective nations join in subscribing to the capital stock of a corporation formed for these purposes. In reporting to the President on the proceedings and conclusions of the Conference, Secretary McAdoo laid especial stress on the advantage to the United States of government-owned steamship lines running to South America. With their routes definitely laid out in advance, and filling a need which private capital has failed to fill, these lines would be open to none of the criticism which has been directed against the vague and ill-thought-out Democratic ship purchase program. Moreover, the United States has in the Panama Steamship Company an organization and personnel of proved experience and efficiency, ready to take over its share of the work as soon as its resources can be increased and its corporate powers extended. This government-owned and operated line of steamships has been eminently successful both as a commercial venture and as an instrument of public service. It has valuable terminal facilities and equipment, and with the opening of the canal its present sphere of usefulness is past. A Pan-American government-owned fleet must, however, be supplemented by a Pan-American shipping commission, with jurisdiction over all shipping between the northern and southern continents. Such a commission would be necessary to prevent the continued use of methods which have hitherto been successful in nipping in the bud any attempt to establish an independent line of steamships to South America. It would be an achievement immensely significant for the future of the two Americas, an experiment fraught with the promise of closer union among all nations, if Pan-American statesmanship could carry such a program to a successful conclusion.

Such, then, must be the third phase of evolution in our maritime economy. Our merchant marine can no longer be treated as a romantic national ideal. Ocean shipping must not be regarded as a selfish instrument of purely national interests. It must be transformed into an instrument of international service. If it can be so transformed, it may well develop into a forerunner of international federation.

GERARD HENDERSON.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Play School: an Experiment

IT was my good fortune last winter to be so placed that I could follow the work of the Play School, one of the schools included by Professor John Dewey and Evelyn Dewey among the schools of to-morrow. There are no repressive measures used in the school. It is a laboratory both for children and teachers, and as it gathers material, a laboratory for the community. It began its third year this last September. The life of the school, like that of other laboratories, is the children's curiosity, the consuming force of normal children when it is not suppressed. The school offers each child an opportunity to carry his curiosity about things through experiment to discovery. It is equipped with an apparatus which is not fixed but is constantly extended. This includes work-benches furnished with full-sized tools. Girls as well as boys of four and five years use hammers, saws and planes without dire consequences to tools or fingers. Toys are a serious part of the equipment. They have been selected with careful regard for the use to which the children will put them. The men, women, and child dolls are proportionate in size, and related to them are horses, carts, domestic animals, trains of cars, and all sizes of blocks for use as building material. The children supplement these toys with boats, auto-trucks, derricks, steam shovels and house furnishings which they make at the bench. Their construction-enterprises reach from railroad systems and ocean transportation to the domestic furnishing of a kitchen. Books and endless supplies of drawing materials are part of the equipment.

With the help of such tools and by dramatization the children reconstruct the world of adults—that is, the part with which they come in contact—in miniature. Given this opportunity to interpret their environment, an understanding of it becomes for them a very pressing need. It is this condition of mind that the school sets out to induce. Children are entered at the age of four because it is realized that the most deeply graven impressions of life come from the experiences of the very early years. They say at the school, "We can do little to establish mental habits after the seventh year, and we refuse to take children over five years except on probation." The school is finding that even at four the children have made many blind adjustments to their environment; that besides working out many relationships on false bases, they have established the mental habit of accepting much of their environment without trying to understand it.

The environment of the New York city child is as complex as any in the world; the processes are never seen from inception to completion. After a time the panorama of the street ceases to be a matter of inquiry; since it has no content it is something to throw stones at. The Play School opens up the passing scene and brings to the children a realization that every truck that rattles through their street is out on some errand which is a part of the life of a great romantic city. The school says, in a statement which it has issued: "We trace the interdependence of traffic and industry. We watch wagons and guess what they contain, where they are going and where they came from. We trace them to the railroads and back to the stores, we follow them to the river, loaded with rocks and dirt which we have already seen taken out of the subway excavations; and then we see these loaded on boats." The life of the city is thus transformed from an itinerant circus to a field of discovery, marvelous in content and intellectual stimulus.

The excursions of discovery do not parallel the information trips which are common in school programs. The Play School excursions are made several times a week and are not special occasions. Sometimes they are made in search of definite information, but usually they keep to the spirit of children of seven years or younger, which is one of exploration and adventure. If a region once visited proves of high interest the trip is repeated at short intervals. The river and the docks, for instance, are inexhaustible. What the children see on their expeditions is not turned by the teacher on their return to the school into a lesson, nor is its use dictated by her. The school, endowed with the patience of science, leaves all that to the children. It is richly rewarded for its confidence as it sees each child turn to the material for help in working out his interests in their sequence. The teacher could not possibly give them the sense of its value or purpose which they get in their own experimenting. Also, in breaking in on their sequence of thought she might weaken their own efforts at concentration; there is no reason why material relevant to a teacher's plan of a day's work should be relevant to the thought processes of each small child. A little later on we learn to manage irrelevant matter without its affecting so seriously our immediate interests.

As a result of leaving use and time of use of material to children, the most striking characteristic of the school is concentration. A group of six-year-old children spend the greater part of a morning in a room alone, carrying forward their play schemes and accomplishing an amount of work which would satisfy an efficiency expert. Between the hours of nine-thirty and eleven-thirty in the morning the school is one of the busiest workshops in New York city; there are no malingerers, neither are there any bonuses, stop-watches or foremen. Not only habits of concentration but habits of logical thought have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their best opportunity for development. The teachers watch for signs of thought-sequence and inquire of the child his purpose and further intention; he is receiving in this way strong stimulus to follow out the road he has chosen until he is ready finally to draw his deductions and pass on to other things. If his interests are wayward, the teachers use discouragements against his taking up new material until he has finished what he started.

The instinct of all children is to turn the life of the adult world over into miniature through play. But for New York children there is a phase of poverty shared by all, rich and poor alike; that is the poverty of opportunity and encouragement for free, imaginative play. Every conceivable entertainment is devised for them, but the impulse for free play, when it has the courage to break through the plan of things arranged by the "Olympians," is as a matter of necessity suppressed. The perversion of the play instinct would be more startling if adults had not lost the distinction between free play and entertainment, if they had not accepted as substitutes for free play such artificial diversions as "movies" and jumping-jack toys which do for children the stunts which in play they would do for themselves—substitutes which turn them from actors and creators into spectators, inhibiting directly the instincts which belong to child life. There was only one child out of eleven entering the school for the first year who had held on to her play thoughts. The four-year-old children admitted the second year showed more encouraging signs of the play spirit, but it was weak and unsustained. It is interesting to note that the second group were, on an average, nearly a year younger than the children admitted the first year, and the influences of repression had had a shorter life.

I have not the space to speak of the relation which the school recognizes between the art and the play impulse; of the increase of rhythm that comes out in the children's dancing as their play impulse is freed. Nor can I more than allude, in so brief an account of a new experiment, to the physical arrangements of the school which provide each child with a floor space of his own, partially screened, within which he carries out his play schemes undisturbed by the other children. The school takes the position that if children under seven are given opportunity to gain content which they can use alone to test out their power, they will be in better shape to take their place in a group than if they had been forced into group work before they had gained confidence, before they knew that they had something of value to contribute, and before they could appreciate the contributions of others. The belief is that the socialization of children is advanced if the instinct of this early period for individual effort is given the fullest opportunity for development.

It is a common tendency to regard such experiments as isolated, bearing no relation to the great public problem of education. What presses on the conscience of the community is not the intensive cultivation of children, but the school attendance of the whole child population. Yet the findings of the Freud school of psychologists are poignant reminders that extensive education is not a substitute for intensive; that the socialization of the children, the first object of a public school system, depends upon a scientific regard for the desires of the individual child, particularly the children below the grammar school grades. These experiments in intensive education will assume an important place in the community as the effects of repression—the accompaniment of the present extensive education—during the most impressionable period of life are realized.

HELEN MAROT.

CORRESPONDENCE

Peace that is Inconclusive

SIR: What memories of our Civil War are stirred by the letter in your issue of September 18th from your English "Copperhead" correspondent, J. A. Hobson. It is all there; the North straining to the breaking point at the front, in their rear this effort for the attrition of the moral strength of the North by unceasing criticism and doubting: suppressing and belittling always the great principles at stake, magnifying always all mistakes of those who bear the brunt, fearful always that with possible victory too severe penalties may be exacted of the enemy, pressing always for peace, any peace, for an "inconclusive peace," and for the first time in his letter it is an "inconclusive peace," that makes Mr. Hobson hearty and ungrudging. In justice to himself will he now specifically state to his American readers what he thinks England should exact of Germany as to Belgium before England looks toward peace? Were I an Englishman there are questions concerning England on which I should like him to define himself—and defend himself—from the appearance of a tepid loyalty.

E. L. SWIFT.

Indianapolis, Ind.

Mr. Hobson's Reply

[In a not particularly courteous commentary on my article, "Britain's Changing War-Mind," Mr. E. L. Swift raises two issues of some importance. The first relates to the rights or duties of free discussion in war-time by a member of a belligerent nation. My article, not critical in any hostile sense of that term, expressed the opinion that the early enthusiasm with which the British nation, like every other, had thrown itself into the war, was sobering down into a duller hue of resolution, and that the popular over-confidence in early and complete success which once prevailed had been worn away by the slow course of events. I set forth some of the evidence upon which this analysis was based—information of no esoteric sort, but accessible to all the world. I gather that this appears to Mr. Swift reprehensible, not because of misstatements or false interpretation of the facts, but because such truths

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are calculated to hearten the enemy or to injure the cause of my country. For Mr. Swift, writing from Indianapolis, cannot and indeed does not question the accuracy either of my statements or my reasoning.

Now my contention is that in a tough, protracted struggle, like that in which my country is engaged, a clear understanding both of the actual situation, military, political and economic, and of the actual mind of the belligerent peoples, is of prime importance to us as a condition of safety or success. After all proper allowance is made for the utility of concealing from the enemy certain concrete facts relating to our forces, our plans and recent military events, the fullest and most accurate information regarding facts and feelings is the soundest war economy for a nation which is fighting, not as the obedient serfs of war lords, but as a free self-governing community. It is good for such a nation not to try to boost itself with empty phrasing and posturing to a shallow over-confidence not in accordance with the actualities of the situation, but to cultivate that steady self-command which a plain facing of the sober facts requires. Self-criticism is an essential factor in this sound economy, though by no means the only factor. It is as valuable for us to know what the German nation is feeling and thinking as it is for us to know our own mind. It will no doubt be retorted, "Yes; but you also let the enemy know." Here there lurks a wholly false assumption that it is always a good thing to deceive the enemy. Now this foolishness is nowise better illustrated than in the wholly false presentment of our ultimate war-purposes which such economy of truth upon our part has enabled the war government of Germany to impose upon the mind of its people. Why does the German people believe with a passionate conviction that the Allies, and England in particular, are determined to crush and dismember their country, to destroy its trade, and to deny it any fair share of developing the resources of the world? Our government, our people, have never seriously entertained any such intention. But idle and furious phrases, uttered by our less responsible politicians and journalists, are served out by the German war-lords to lash up the drooping spirit of their people. If the enemy did know our war-mind, and if we ourselves had a clearer understanding of it, such knowledge would neither hearten the enemy nor impair our own morale. Quite the contrary. The enemy would then know the strength as well as the limits of our determination: and we should be able to direct our moral and intellectual, as well as our material, resources more providently towards a clearly conceived material purpose. Nowhere has this importance of getting a clear understanding of our true mind been stated more frankly than by Dr. C. W. Eliot in one of the earlier letters of his correspondence with Mr. Schiff:

> Have you any means of getting into the minds of some of the present rulers of Germany that idea that no such alternative as life or death is presented to Germany in this war, and that the people need only abandon their world-empire ambitions, while securing safety in the heart of Europe and a chance to develop all that is good in German civilization.

Even here there is probably a misunderstanding in imputing to "the people" of Germany "world-empire ambitions," which illustrates again the urgent need of such free self-analysis on the part of each belligerent people as that for which I plead. For it must be remembered that if the sort of analysis I offer be true, its repression does not mean a mere concealment of our true mind from ourselves and from our enemy; it means the substitution of a false mind. Now it cannot really help us in the war to pretend that we are other than we know we are, and that we have other intentions than we know we have. Such "bluff" might conceivably assist us to steal some sudden passing advantage, but it must react with damaging effect upon our deeper sanity of purpose, which is needed for the long and serious task in which we are engaged.

I foresee a time, perhaps not distant, when the failure to make our mind quite clear to ourselves and to our enemy may be the chief obstacle to a possible termination of the war. Mr. Swift, quite falsely and with no tittle of support from any passage in my former article, imputes to me and other "Copperheads" the willingness to accept "any peace." Now I know no body of men or women, scarcely any individual, in this nation against whom this charge could truthfully be made. I know no one who would quit fighting upon any terms which left Germany in possession of any of the lands of Belgium, France, Russia, or the Balkans which she has temporarily occupied, or which failed to make adequate provision for the re-establishment of Belgium. These conditions are indispensable to any peace upon which the Allies can voluntarily enter. Nothing short of an almost unthinkable success of the Central Powers, which left them in a position to dictate terms to the broken forces of the Allies, could lead to any abatement of any of these conditions. And such a peace could have no long endurance. For the claims of Belgium, in particular, upon England and on France are of a quite absolute obligation, in view not primarily of the treaty of neutrality, but of the arrangement by which these two great Powers induced the smaller Power to bear the horrors and barbarities of the invasion in their defence.

But, it may be said, the conditions you name amount after all to the *status quo ante bellum*. Can the Allies bring themselves to entertain the possibility of so unsatisfactory, so inconclusive a peace? Probably not. But, all the same, it is worth while distinguishing the conditions which are absolutely indispensable to a peace which is even moderately satisfactory to the Allies from other conditions however important, such, for example, as the restitution to France of the entire province of Alsace-Lorraine, the setting up of an independent Poland, the rescue of the Slav populations from the grip of Austria-Hungary, and the destruction or cession of the Germany navy. These and certain other terms no doubt appear to the great bulk of our people essential to "a conclusive peace." But all, I think, would distinguish these, as regards honor and obligation, from those first named. Among these terms of secondary obligation degrees of importance will be found. If France insists, it will be held that we must keep on fighting until Alsace-Lorraine is taken from Germany and restored to France or to complete autonomy. But no purpose can here be served by a discussion of all the separate changes in the political map of Europe, or of the world, which may seem conducive to a satisfactory settlement. The practical issue which may come up is this. Suppose that, after further costly experiments, both belligerent groups come clearly to recognise that no conclusive issue is attainable, and that further continuance of fighting, while wearing down the human and economic resources of each nation, brings no prospect of an early settlement, even by exhaustion. Will their statesmen then be able to persuade themselves that it may be better to seek or to accept, or at least to consider, terms of settlement which will appear to each of them "inconclusive" rather than incur the certainty of further carnage? The answer to this question turns, I think, upon the degree of inconclusiveness that appears to attach to such a settlement. And that I venture to think turns largely

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon the information that each nation has of the other's disposition and intentions. If, for example, we were able to believe that the complete failure of the aggressive designs of military Prussia, and the terrible sufferings which that aggression had brought to the German people, would discredit Prussianism in Germany, while the exposure of the unreality of the Slav menace removed the chief defensive purpose in German militarism—we might then entertain terms which seemed impossible upon another reading of the German mind. Similarly, if Germany could be got to understand the genuineness of the pacific intentions of the Allies, it might make all the difference in the formal terms she might be willing to accept, when once the hope of victory had disappeared from her mind. It would indeed be a lamentable thing if, at such a juncture as I here contemplate, neither party would listen to the voice of reason or humanity, because the mind of each had been poisoned by false representations of the other's mind. For in the end the degree of "conclusiveness" attaching to a peace must depend less upon the immediate concrete terms than upon the intentions of each of the parties. And for this purpose it is essential that each nation shall by free discussion and fearless analysis of fact and motive know its own mind and make that knowledge known to others.

J. A. HOBSON.

London.

P. S.—Since writing the above lines the following story in the *Manchester Guardian* has caught my eye:—

> According to a wounded officer, a day before the great attack a curious thing happened. A board was hoisted in the German trenches bearing the inscription—
>
> "The English are Fools."
>
> No one wasted a bullet on such poor abuse. The board went down and reappeared with the addition—
>
> "The French are Fools."
>
> It was ignored by the British. Then the board came up again with a third line—
>
> "*We* are Fools."
>
> A lively interest was now awakened in the board. On its last appearance it bore the inscription—
>
> "Why not all go home?"

Whether the story be literally true I cannot tell. But that it is a true rendering of the feelings of the fighting units of all nations there can be little doubt. All would earnestly desire to 'go home.' And all the anxious watchers in their homes would like to have them back. Why cannot they go home? Because those who sent them out are paralysed by mutual fears and the misreading of each other's mind.

J. A. H.]

Anti-Ragtime

SIR: Once I asked a rather famous artist to express in music the most immoral feeling possible. He threw up his hand with a quick snap of his finger, and I had his answer forthwith in a whistled snatch of ragtime. In your issue of October 16th Hiram K. Moderwell attempts to dignify this delectable sister of folly under the disguise, "folk-music." His exact words are, "I am sure that many a native composer could save his soul if he would open his ears to this folk-music of the American city."

The confusion of thought in this article is exasperating because nowadays one hears so much of its kind. The fundamental idea seems to be that if you can pervert the taste of ten million persons in these United States—no matter how inferior they are as a class—into liking a thing, you may then, with the fervor of a religious zealot, call the thing American and insist that it is necessarily the fullest expression of the life of the people. This sort of reasoning everywhere infests our national life. The editor with his dozen reports of murder and sexual laxity flashing from the front page of his morning paper; the novelist and dramatist with their liberal laxative of filth and their crass sugaring of sentiment; the minister with his startling vulgarity and his hypnotism; the music-master with his ragtime—all these bow the knee to Baal. These men, however, insist that they are expressing the true American feeling by giving the people what they want. The concrete product of such rasoning is found in men of the type of William R. Hearst, Harold Bell Wright, Billy Sunday, and George M. Cohan.

The harm lies in the delusion that these are the true Americans. If one has heard, "Hark, hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings," how could he save his soul by opening his ears to "When the frost is on the pumpkin and the fodder's in the shock?" Or if one has comprehended "What a piece of work is a man," why should he imagine that he is expressing the real American spirit when he spurts through a quid of tobacco, "Lord! we all know we're as common as sin!" So long as some people remember that America has produced Greeley and Bryant, Emerson and Hawthorne, Phillips Brooks, MacDonald, Damrosch, and Muck, shall they find their souls when they

> "this fair mountain leave to feed,
> And batten on this moor?"

Would it not be better in these perilous times of the movie and the tango to remember what was said a good many centuries ago—by Socrates, I believe: "A principle which has any soundness should stand firm not only now and then, but always and forever."

JAMES CLOYD BOWMAN.

New York City.

[Ragtime is American, exactly as skyscrapers are American—having been invented, developed and chiefly used in America. On that point there can be no dispute. How much you like it is another matter. The correspondent feels that the taste for ragtime is a depraved taste and that the class which entertains it is an inferior class. Of course he is assuming that he is the superior. Now, if I may be allowed the liberties of controversy for a moment, the man who argues in this fashion is technically known as a snob. A snob, of course, may be right. But just suppose in this case that the taste for ragtime were not depraved; the correspondent could never know that fact because, being superior, he could not share the tastes of the inferior. The weakness of the snob is his helpless imprisonment in this vicious circle. If he should happen to be wrong he could never know it.

I certainly do not suppose that "ragtime is the" fullest expression of the life of the people. And I freely admit that bad ragtime is written in about as great proportion as bad lieder and bad symphonies. The important point is that ragtime, whether it be adjudged good or bad, is original with Americans—it is their own creation. And a people must do its own art-creation, for the same reason that an individual must do his own lovemaking.

H. K. M.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After the Play

KNOWING "An Ideal Husband" was to be given at the Irving Place, and not being any too sure of my German, I thought I'd better reread the play.

Knowing too that Oscar Wilde is an author who must be read in the right edition, and that I possessed only a cheap reprint of "An Ideal Husband," I tried to get hold of one of the old, tall, wide, slender volumes, with bent gold blades on the cloth binding, colored something that is now neither lilac nor old rose.

While hunting for this book I looked back a little more than twenty years, and tried to recall first seeing and hearing of an Oscar Wilde play. In the Middle West it was, and the play was "Lady Windermere's Fan." Nothing was left in memory but the impression made by the fine high manner of all the men and women in the play, by the wit of many, by an occasional passage where the beauty implicit in their speech became explicit, by an economy in the use of words. Even characters the most designedly voluble spoke with an effect of economy. I remembered too, and smiled at the recollection, that twenty odd years ago I thought "Lady Windermere's Fan" rather daring.

These impressions were not effaced while I was reading "An Ideal Husband," but their outlines were blurred by other impressions. Oscar Wilde, I told myself, was a man who had mastered the art of giving talk a high style without losing on the heights the tone of the levels. Yet it was Oscar Wilde who made Lady Chiltern say this to her husband: "All your life you have stood apart from others. You have never let the world soil you. To the world, as to myself, you have been an ideal always. Oh! be that ideal still. That great inheritance throw not away—that ivory tower do not destroy." It is Yeats, I think, who says rhetoric is the will trying to do the work of the imagination.

From the same play, from Sir Robert Chiltern's story of his fall, a story told to his most intimate friend, I pick this queer little artificial flower: "With that wonderfully fascinating quiet voice of his he expounded to us the most terrible of all philosophies, the philosophy of power, preached to us the most marvelous of all gospels, the gospel of gold." Here the lover of pattern is more clearly heard than the nice idealiser of everyday speech. The words are words that anybody might use, but the sentence's artful structure is bookish. Such a passage is worth comparing with a piece spoken in "A Woman of No Importance" by Miss Hester Worsley, a young American Puritan who is talking to her English hostess and her hostess's English guests: "You have lost life's secret. Oh, your English society seems to me shallow, selfish, foolish. It has blinded its eyes and stopped its ears. It lies like a leper in purple. It sits like a dead thing smeared with gold." Here the structure of the sentences is simple enough, but Miss Worsley's purple and gold sound as if she had first got her similes by heart and then coldly let them loose upon a defenseless drawing-room.

Of the details in "An Ideal Husband" it was, however, a very little one that most amazed me. Sir Robert Chiltern, seeking egress from a friend's room, says: "Let me pass, sir." Is it really by Oscar Wilde, this phrase the most unheard in life, even at the poker table?

Not less amazing, if you have forgotten your Oscar Wilde, is the content of "An Ideal Husband." What in the world is it all about? Sir Robert Chiltern, who laid the foundation of his fortune, when he was a cabinet minister's private secretary years ago, by selling a cabinet secret to an Austrian speculator in Suez Canal shares, suddenly finds himself face to face with public exposure. If he is exposed goodbye to his career as a statesman. If his wife finds out what he did she will leave him. He is right—she does find out—she will put an end to their marriage. No, he is wrong. She forgives. His avoidance of exposure is wrought by a stolen bracelet, by the discovery that his accuser, who has the letter he wrote the Austrian speculator, is a thief. What could be older-fashioned, unless it is the vicissitudes of a letter written by Lady Chiltern to her husband's most intimate friend, and mistakenly regarded by her, in her unreal stupidity, as one of those letters that compromise the writer?

To one who has not forgotten "Lady Windermere's Fan," however, or "A Woman of No Importance," the story of "An Ideal Husband" is not amazing at all. The formula is the same for each of these plays: Take a melodramatic plot, the most artificial you can find, and scatter it through scenes of comedy, of wit that cannot be imitated, of pictures of the brightest and best manners deliberately and consummately *stylisiert*. Miraculous, considering the frequency with which rhetoric does duty for passion, in scenes supposed to be felt, miraculous how little these naïve scenes interrupt the mockery which tinkles through each play so precisely.

The true criticism of these three plays is the fourth play, "The Importance of Being Earnest," which has all their virtues and lacks all their defects. Before writing it Oscar Wilde must have been aware, or as good as aware, that when he was serious on the stage he was usually naïve and often badly purple. He must have made up his mind that what was shopworn in his technique was there to be laughed at. He succeeded in being himself on the stage, in attaining complete freedom and complete sincerity, by writing a play in which the only feeling is love of form.

"The Importance of Being Earnest" is not only the best of these four plays, and the one which has hardly aged at all. It is also the easiest to act. In "Lady Windermere's Fan" and "A Woman of No Importance" nearly all players are beaten by the difficulties of representing witty men and women, belonging to the highest world, astray in melodrama; of keeping Oscar Wilde's good women inside that picture of triviality and wilfulness which was Oscar Wilde's idea of charm; of keeping the Aubrey Beardsley parts of the plays alive through the bored-Sardou parts.

"An Ideal Husband" is quite outside the range of the players at the Irving Place. Mrs. Cheveley is thus described in the stage directions: "Lips very thin and highly-colored, a line of scarlet on a pallid face. . . . She looks rather like an orchid, and makes great demands on one's curiosity. In all her movements she is extremely graceful. A work of art on the whole, but showing the influence of too many schools." Miss Jennie Valliere's acting as Mrs. Cheveley, especially in the third act, made me wish to see her in some part written by a hand as heavy as hers. As Sir Robert Chiltern, the note of whose manner is "that of perfect distinction, with a slight touch of pride," Mr. Feist was monotonously woebegone. I could not understand why Mr. Korff, who began in the right tone as Lord Goring, chose to make him, as the play went on, rather malicious and rather contemptuous. And never, I am certain, could Lord Goring have kicked Lord Caversham's coat into a chair. But even as a Lord Goring who forgot his manners Mr. Korff's craftsmanship was eminent. He would be superb, I should think, in a Wedekind play.

Q. K.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books and Things

PERHAPS somebody who has done me the honor to read thus far in this article will also do me a favor. Somewhere in Carlyle there is a panegyric upon journalism. Carlyle is describing the hideous daily labors of the journalist. It is a long description, engineered with such art that the reader expects it to conclude with explosive praise of the thing thus written against time, against space, against adverse gales of circumstance. What the reader gets is this tribute to the journalist's product, output or result: "And how passable it is!" Years ago I read this clangorous chapter in the gospel of silence, and never since, despite much hunting, especially in the life of John Stirling, have I been able to find the same. My reason for hunting is belief that a journalist, like everybody else, should now and then for his soul's health's sake expose himself to the severest things that have been thought and said in the world against his gainful occupation.

In default of Carlyle there is Stevenson, of course, with his "How do journalists fetch up their drivel?" And there is also Yeats. In "Synge and the Ireland of His Time" Yeats speaks of "that which is at once the greatest and most ignoble power of journalism, the art of repeating a name again and again with some ridiculous or evil association." You may remember, as an example of this greatest but not most ignoble power, the question so often repeated by the New York *World:* "Where did you get it, Mr. Croker?" Or you may remember how ignobly Charles A. Dana used to harp on Grover Cleveland's fatness. You may remember, if your verbal memory is better than mine, a *Sun* paragraph which I am now trying to reach with the proper approach shots. Many newspapers in many parts of the country had taken up one of the *Sun's* names for Mr. Cleveland, the Stuffed Prophet of William Street. Between Mr. Cleveland's terms, when he had a law office in Broad Street, New York, the old nickname was still echoed, and the *Sun* corrected one of the echoes in a paragraph which began by quoting, I think from a Texas newspaper, "the Stuffed Prophet of William Street," and which went on somewhat like this: "Broad, not William. It used to be William. If our esteemed contemporary will consult the New York city directory for the current year it will find the following entry: 'Cleveland, Grover, lawyer, 15 Broad.' The last specification is the business address, not the personal measurement." Yes, it was as ignoble as you please. It was also, in its day, rather funny.

In the same essay Yeats speaks of "the defense of virtue by those that have but little, which is the pomp and gallantry of journalism and its right to govern the world." Every one of my young readers who is old enough to remember Maxim Gorki's first visit to the United States will remember also how we journalists made it the occasion of a defense of virtue by those that have but little, how we exuded deference to the sanctity of the marriage bond. Yeats speaks of "the moral zeal, the confident logic, the ordered proof of journalism." Gorki's visit gave us little chance to display the first two of these qualities, but it did instigate us to column upon column of moral zeal. Let us console ourselves, if we can, by another quotation from Yeats: "The thought of journalists is neither healthy nor unhealthy, for it has not risen to that state where either is possible, nor should we call it happy." And I suppose he has his eye on journalism when he says: "A mind that generalizes rapidly, continually prevents the experience that would have made it feel and see deeply."

Laying down the book, and taking up another, "Ideas of Good and Evil," and reading here and there, I came across Yeats's picture of a stay he made at Stratford-on-Avon, where Mr. Benson's company, at a theatre "in a green garden by the riverside," was giving six of the historical plays "in their right order, with all the links that bind play to play unbroken." In London, Yeats goes on, "the first man one meets puts any high dream out of one's head," but at Stratford "he gives back one's dream like a mirror." In London "we hear something we like some twice or thrice in a winter, and among people who are thinking the while of a music-hall singer or a member of parliament, but" in the country "we would see it or hear it among people who liked it well enough to have travelled some few hours to find it; and because those who care for the arts have few near friendships among those who do not, we would see and hear it among near friends."

Experience has not taught me that those who travel farthest to see a play are usually those who like it best. Not the man who walked most miles to see the procession, an old story tells us, was the mirror that gave it back most perfectly, but one who was asleep under a rock in his own field, and who woke up and without stirring watched the procession go by. My own expeditions to shrine or stadium or Soldiers' Field, where a masterpiece by a master was to be given in a manner dear to the Muses, have less often landed me among ideal spectators than among persons self-consciously anxious to be worthy of the honor, or to be less unworthy than their fellows. Sometimes this self-consciousness was precipitated in a drizzle of reminiscence, of reference to similar occasions whose glory grew in proportion to the number of listeners who hadn't been there. Sometimes it took the form of elementary information given more willingly than it was received. Sometimes it took the form of derision. The child of nature and art, quick to vibrate adequately, did not abound. After the affair one mostly heard the talk of men and women who prevented experience by generalizing too rapidly, and whose words gave a fresh staleness to the truth that not every generality glitters.

Only twice, only twice in my whole life, have I felt in exclusive purity the emotion of a circumsolar crowd. We all sat in a room of moderate size, not far from the Western Lake, our eyes turned toward the same sun, each hearing the same hope beat in every other heart. Our host, his face flushed with our noble common enthusiasm, went both to and fro among his paying guests. With joy-shaken hand he pointed to the blackboard we were all watching. In a voice shaken by reverent ecstasy he exclaimed, "Look at Northwest!" We looked and looked, while the stock we loved so well went up eighteen points under our greedy eyes. Not so many days later, and here we all are again, in the same room, our emotions purged by self-pity and terror, while waves of Northern Pacific panic break over us, and clean us out, and wash our riches away. Each of us has his selfish fears and certitudes, yet each is conscious of a community in disaster. Meanwhile, aloof, unsympathetic, the descending Stock Market looks at us, its victims, whose margins fade forever and forever as it moves. Yes, I fear it is true that all of us, had Yeats met us that day, would have put any high dream out of his head. Yes, I fear that journalists—and here I had intended an adroit return to journalism, but there doesn't seem to be room.

P. L.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Case for Conscription

Ordeal by Battle, by F. S. Oliver. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.75 net.

OF the distinguished ability of Mr. Oliver's book there can be no question. It is able and eloquent while it is vigorous and sincere. Here at last is a man (an Englishman at that) who in the midst of a vast chaos of uncertainties has a definite thesis to maintain and the power to build from that thesis an illuminating contribution to the present debate. A critic would be ungrateful not to welcome such a book.

What is the thesis? It is the argument that to achieve her victory Great Britain has need of conscription; that she had need of it before the war; that without it she cannot render to herself or to her allies the services it is in her power to confer; more, that without it she cannot maintain any future peace. Interwoven into the fabric of this background are two minor but important pieces of design. Why was a conscript army essential to the security of Great Britain? Because, Mr. Oliver makes answer, Germany had lusted after world-power, had organized on a scale adequate to her ambition, had necessitated thereto a reply of formidable calibre. Why, in the second place, had British statesmen so signally failed to realize this obvious need? Mr. Oliver finds the answer in the evils of the party-system, in the unwillingness it has bred in politicians to face squarely an unpopular issue, and to tell the nation of sensible defects in its system. Preparedness, he argues, is essential to peace and therefore to security. Had Great Britain been prepared there would have been no war. Instead of confronting her real problems she chose to sleep, and Germany selected the hour of her waking from that sleep to attempt her destruction. In such a moment, so German statesmen argued, she could not rightly estimate the issues. They were mistaken; but that does not alter the imperative need.

A democracy, so runs the keynote of Mr. Oliver's vision, has deep need of national service. Like every other institution of human making, it will be judged by its achievement and not by its professed virtues. It must organize itself. If it is to govern, so also it must serve; otherwise, in truth, it were the merest imposture. This need of service implies that the army of the democratic state must be no professional army recruited mainly from the starved and the outcast, but a citizen army of every available man. That is the test of citizenship—the willingness to defend its integrity. But it is useless to have the will without the training. Citizens unprepared are citizens who have left their wills unrealized. To be made whole they must give the deepest that is in themselves to the state. So will they best be themselves, because from that service manhood and strength and determination are bred into the fibre of the people.

It is a brilliant argument, to the splendid eloquence of which the mere statement does less than the barest justice. Nowhere have I seen so vividly depicted the character of Prussian militarism. Nowhere have I seen so clearly limned the patent vices of modern English politics. And it is a stirring appeal—of that there is no denial. The picture of a nation organized to maintain its integrity, asking from no section of itself service the other sections do not render, has a natural and irresistible fascination. So, at least, one would think. Yet it is undeniable that to a great and important part of the British people—the working classes—the appeal is largely without meaning, is even instinct with danger, is hated. What is the cause of this divergence?

It lies, as I think, in a certain over-simplification of the structure of society in minds like that of Mr. Oliver. He sees the nation as one and indivisible; to him the nation is also the state. National service is state service. The state has its problems. It wants to meet those problems. What more simple or effective than to organize it to do so? But it is necessary to look a little deeper. Below the One a Many is visible. If there is Belgravia there is also Whitechapel; if there are people who read the *Times* there are also people who do not read the *Times;* if there are the rich there are—it was the discovery Disraeli made when he wrote "Sybil"—the poor. Now before you can organize your nation you have to convince every part of it (or coerce it if you can) that your proposal is to its advantage. You have to make it understand that your intentions towards itself are beneficent. There can be no shadow of doubt that the workers of Great Britain are not convinced that government is instinct with good-will towards them, are suspicious in a profound sense of its intentions. Why? They will without hesitation make sacrifices for a thing they call "England"; but they have first to believe that the "England" for whom the sacrifice is to be made is not the people we broadly term the employing class. For these workers are perpetually engaged, in time of peace, in warfare against that class and it is the government which represents that class that is, on Mr. Oliver's scheme, to bear to them this new gift. What is this gift? A strong army drawn mainly from the workers' own ranks. But it is matter of the most recent history that an army less strong has been used against them in industrial warfare, has fired on them, has blacklegged them; the army, at any rate in time of peace, looks to the workers very like the most powerful weapon the capitalists can use against them. "Are we," they not unnaturally ask, "to strengthen a weapon certain to be used against ourselves?" May I point the moral with an actual instance? Mr. Oliver makes much play of the illegitimate use of the army. It will not condescend to do the dirty work of fighting rebellious Ulster and a leader guilty of constructive treason; but it does not object to do the equally dirty work of shooting down strikers at Tonypandy. Mr. Oliver must explain this distinction.

And he must be at pains to remove other suspicions which point in the same direction. I open my *Spectator* each week and find enthusiastic colonels on the retired list, writing from the comfortable seclusion of a Pall Mall club, asking for conscription as a means of dealing with industrial unrest. Mr. Oliver, who has, of course, other and far higher motives for his demand, tends to be confused in the worker's mind with my retired colonel. If he wants to remove that confusion he must deal with the retired colonel before he asks for the attention of labor. He must see that the worker is guaranteed in some way against capitalist extortion, that the war is not made, for example, the occasion of an insidious replacement of men by cheaper female labor or even cheapest child labor. He must not write—particularly from a country house—of a pay of eighteen pence a day as "millionaire's pay" even in relation to the pay of the French soldier. He must try to think himself into the position of the soldier's wife who, with little children, is trying to make both ends meet on a minute separation allowance in a time of rising prices; he must remember that the people mainly profiting from the rise are the adherents of national service. He must be brief if he wishes to carry conviction to the workers, try to see things from their point of view.

I feel tolerably certain that no thinking Englishman will

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

now reject Mr. Oliver's appeal for national service so long as he studies the needs of labor. He must see to it, for example, that the relation between his foreign and domestic policy is such that the cares of the latter are not subservient to the delights of the former. When an English workingman sees how light-heartedly a peace-loving foreign minister can sacrifice a democracy in Persia, or jeopardize peace because some English capitalists have found it more profitable to invest in Morocco or Mexico than at home, he does not sympathize with plans which might as easily result in the extension of such adventures as in the maintenance of peace. If Mr. Oliver will see his industrial problem as clearly as his military, if he will look at home as well as abroad, I am sure that common ground between his ideals and those of labor can be found. Labor, equally with Mr. Oliver, is passionately eager to organize the nation in the service of the state, but it is not unreasonable to ask for security lest that organizing prove its own destruction?

One or two minor criticisms I venture to suggest. There are some dangerous personalities from which this book would be better free; as, for instance, the extraordinary reference—which in anyone but Mr. Oliver would be called incredibly vulgar—to one of the most distinguished of modern economists (p. 153); it is possible to be ironical without being offensive. Lord Haldane and Mr. Asquith might, one conceives, be treated with some shadow of respect even if on the opposite side to Mr. Oliver; either he does not know them or he has let his feelings get the better of him. Mr. Oliver may dislike lawyers; but his wholesale condemnation makes entire abstraction of their services to English liberties—of men like Coke and Mansfield and Camden, to take but three names at random. Lastly, Mr. Oliver cannot let this be a people's war on p. 72 and a war of Court, Army and Bureaucracy on p. 44.

I have criticized freely. That is because this is a big book and a valuable book, symptomatic of much that is best in the British temper. But where there is so much that is fine, I think it is strategic error not to separate the alloy from the gold.

HAROLD J. LASKI.

The Easiest Way

The Happy Phrase, by Edwin Hamilton Carr. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.00.

HERE is a real treasure, to be hailed with gratitude by everybody who now and then tires of the effort to express himself. The author of this newly-published handbook, Edwin Hamilton Carr, has been impressed with the Average Man's conversational poverty, and has hit on the idea of providing him with a multitude of felicitous phrases, classified for use on various occasions. It is not a reference book, as Bartlett is, but actually a text to be studied, its aim being "the enrichment of conversation, writing and public speaking. When the mind is filled with good phrases they will spring spontaneously to the lips or pen." Thus runs the compiler's promise.

In Mr. Carr's preface he generously gives credit for many of his choicest blooms to four writers so dissimilar that surely we may look for spicy variety later—Dumas, Mrs. Hannah More, Thackeray and Dr. Crothers (with his name spelled wrong). We can hardly imagine another spot in which these worthies might find themselves juxtaposed, save perhaps heaven. And then follow the phrases, by the hundreds and thousands, each precisely the most pointed, distinguished, and utterly original thing you could say on a given occasion. Don't say what you were going to. If you are being "Complimentary of Things," for instance, use one of these instead:

How delightfully cosy!
Isn't that jolly?
A capital idea—
Simply splendid.

Even more unusual and breezy are such greetings as these:

I am delighted to make your acquaintance, though indeed I seem to know you already through hearing . . . speak of you.
It is a great pleasure to have met you.
I trust we shall meet again.

Here an unaccountable omission is "Pleased to shake you by the hand."

"Courtesy" includes, in a long list:

You are most kind.
Permit me to thank you.
Please accept this as a slight token of my regard.
Aren't you going? [The fine flower of hospitality.]
Hearty congratulations.
I beg to offer my profound sympathy.
I was not clever enough to catch your name.
It is good of you to say so.

Chosen from several lists are these bits of conversational parsley:

It was real stupid of me.
Not that I know—
Quite likely.
It looks as if it would rain.
Ask me something easy.

TIFFANY & CO.

DIAMOND RINGS
SQUARE, ROUND, MARQUISE
AND FANCY DIAMONDS

FIFTH AVENUE AND 37TH STREET
NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Globe-Wernicke
Sectional Bookcases

You buy an additional section as you need it

THE pride and pleasure of owning good books is the more enhanced by the knowledge that your library is tastefully housed and adequately protected. Nowadays, Globe-Wernicke Bookcases are the invariable choice of booklovers for their artistic and practical merits. You begin with a few sections and add units as need arises. A patented Dust-Proof Felt Strip in each section protects books from dust and keeps doors from slamming. All styles and finishes. They cost no more than the ordinary kind, and are built to endure.

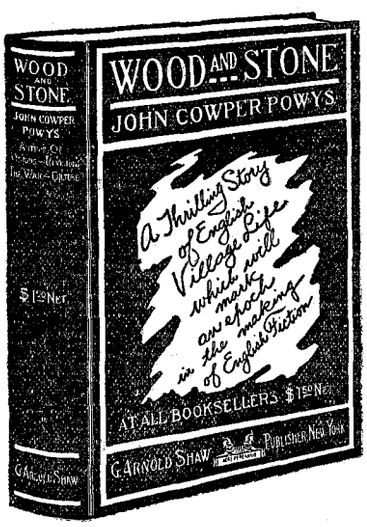
Write for "The World's Best Books."—Free With Catalog 170

The Globe-Wernicke Co.
Cincinnati

More than 2000 Agents and Branch Stores everywhere

"The Heart of the Home"

OUT NOVEMBER 13


WOOD AND STONE
JOHN COWPER POWYS
A Thrilling Story of English Village Life which will mark an epoch in the making of English Fiction
AT ALL BOOKSELLERS $1.25 NET
G. ARNOLD SHAW PUBLISHER NEW YORK

The brilliant author of **"Visions and Revisions,"** has produced in *this, his first novel,* a startling and original work. *It suggests* Dostoievsky rather than Mr. Wells, and Balzac rather than Mr. Galsworthy.

It has something of the formidable intensity and fantastic waywardness of a story by Jean Richepin, and in its attempt to answer some of the more dangerous dogmas enunciated by Nietzsche, it does not scruple to make drastic use of that great psychologist's devastating insight.

The author has the courage to deal frankly and fearlessly with those deep-hidden attractions and repulsions between people forced into relations with one another, which most novelists complacently and dishonestly gloss over.

The psychological value of many of the illuminative human documents laid bare in the book cannot be over-rated. Men and women are shown as they really are, neither idealized nor condemned.

Order from your bookstore to-day

G. ARNOLD SHAW
Publisher

1735 Grand Central Terminal New York

Having duly memorized these and the hundreds of others that Mr. Carr has collected, we proceed to the invaluable sections which help the clergyman, public speaker and letter-writer. And here we find illustrated the labor-saving advantages of that "newspaper English" which O. Henry celebrated in the story about the Russo-Japanese war correspondent. Give me the first word of any phrase you have in mind and I'll tell you the rest of it—its parts all hang together in the well-trained memory. Dastardly—villain. Facile—pen. Snowy—linen. Irksome—task. Domestic—felicity. Of these Happy Combinations nearly four hundred are suggested. "Quite frequently" is one of the Four Hundred. Mere "frequently," you see, is neither Happy nor in the right set.

Would you describe a girl—a plain girl until you search Mr. Carr for Happy Phrases? She will have a matchless eye, a winning smile, a coral lip, and robust health; and the nice omelet she makes in her quaint old house will have a savory odor. Ten to one, by the end of your story she will have fallen in love with a noble youth—or he may be a rising young lawyer—and will be the fond mother of a husky youngster. It is all here for you, making description as easy as rolling downhill.

It is possible that hard thinking on our part might have evolved some of the phrases suggested as "Commendatory of Persons," but such as the following no one with a mind less original than Mr. Carr's could have hit on:

How lovely these are!
He is a noble character.
We have beautiful neighbors.
He is irresistibly funny.
It was a very neat and appropriate expression.
A model of propriety—a plain, frugal man.

The chief recommendation of these phrases is that they are so delicately diplomatic. No matter what the facts are, they suggest a happy way out. They fit the hard road of life with the softest padding. They remind one of the widow (in Dickens?) who, speaking of her late and reprobate husband, had the Carr-like felicity to declare that "the poor dear wrote such a lovely hand."

Gems from "Inquiry" include:

Have you any news?
May I have an apple?
Have you had luncheon?
Where are you staying?

Think of the author's joy when he chanced on such a pungent phrase as "May I have an apple?" The feelings of Cortes on a peak in Darien, or of Archimedes springing from his bath with a new solution in geometry—only such are comparable with Carr's as he brings to light the fresh, unspoiled, daring "Have you had luncheon?"

"Prefatory" offers an infinite variety of openings that one seldom hears, yet are marvelously apt and from their very rarity will give snap to one's talk:

I fancy that—
I wonder whether—
For instance,
Frankly, I . . .
Hitherto—Furthermore—None the less—Notwithstanding.

Here the need of a revised edition becomes apparent at once, for the author has curiously failed to include some openings that one could surely use very often with great effect: But—If—Say—Listen here.

The process of rolling down hill is repeatedly suggested in the section devoted to the rhetorical needs of the clergy. Here are pages of phrases of guaranteed antiquity and ec-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clesiastical standing, ranging in application from the Almighty to the sinner. The first are remarkably reminiscent of the collects in the Book of Common Prayer; the others sound like Billy Sunday. So your tastes have a wide range. But all are conveniently ready-made, needing no trying-on in the vestry before use. Forget the trite phrases you have been preaching and praying with. Too many men weary their congregations with hackneyed language. You can make yours sit up and gasp in admiration if you follow Mr. Carr's advice as to phrase-making, and you will become known as the preacher who originated such unforgettable bits as,

The wondrous story of God's love.
Pity our frailties.
A hardened cynic.
Hollow shams and conventionalities.
Evil to its core.
Brighten up the corner where you are.

Has letter-writing been a burden to you? Never again need you chew your penholder for inspiration. Mr. Carr provides for all but extraordinary demands. Is it condolence or congratulation, thanks or Christmas? Here are plenty of fresh sentiments like "I hardly know how to express my thanks"—"The best of good wishes for a Merry Christmas"—the makings of an admirable letter if you will but cement them together in coherent form and add superscription and signature.

But if you lack the time or the self-confidence for such constructive effort, turn to the concluding section of ready-made letters. You surely can't object to the little work required here. Just fill in the blanks left for the names—that's all. The letter is done: a model of condolence for some suffering friend. And "Happy"? If that nation is happiest which has no history, so also is the Carr type of letter, which has no vestige of personality. These letters of sympathy twinkle with a subdued brilliance whose happiest effect is that it induces the bereaved to forget his sorrow in a vast admiration of your cleverness. And that is what is desired, is it not?

My dear friend:

It is with great regret that we learn of the sad occurrence at your home. Please accept our sincerest condolences. With deepest sympathy.

A wonderfully useful example this: it will answer almost any purpose. "Sad occurrence"—nothing could be more non-committal. You've heard that something has happened to them but you've forgotten just what. Send this and meet all requirements.

Gaiety in Verse

The Laughing Muse, by Arthur Guiterman. New York: Harper & Brothers.

MR. GUITERMAN is somewhat in the position of one of his own cherubs:

Who none of them, 'tis understood,
Will play a Naughty Prank;
And this is good, because they would
Be Difficult to Spank.

Mr. Guiterman's floor-walker, his antiseptic baby, his prophylactic pup may seem humorless to some. This is one of the misfortunes of such frivolity as his. But to many he is that rare creature, an unforced popular humorist. For them he fulfils his title's promise of laughter. He is to be enjoyed as a versifier who evades any attempt at serious criticism, an irreverent sprite who has immunity just because he is "difficult to spank."

TYPEWRITER SENSATION

Free Trial

USE AS YOU PAY

Only $2.50 a month until the low total price of $48.80 is paid, and the machine is yours

This is absolutely the most generous typewriter offer ever made. Do not rent a machine when you can pay $2.50 a month and own one. Think of it—Buying a $100.00 machine for $48.80. Cash price, $45.45. Never before has anything like this been attempted.

STANDARD VISIBLE L. C. SMITH

Perfect machines, Standard size, Keyboard of Standard Universal arrangement writing 76 characters—universally used in teaching the touch system. (Keyboard writing 84 characters $2.00 extra). The entire line of writing completely visible at all times, has the tabulator, the two color ribbon, with automatic reverse, the back spacer, ball bearing type bars, ball bearing carriage action, ball bearing shift action, in fact every late style feature and modern operating convenience. Comes to you with everything complete; tools, cover, operating book and instructions, ribbon, practice paper—nothing extra to buy. You cannot imagine the perfection of this beautiful reconstructed typewriter until you have seen it. I have sold several thousand of these perfect latest style Model No. 2 machines at this bargain price and every one of these thousands of satisfied customers had this beautiful, strictly up to date machine on five days' free trial before deciding to buy it. I will send it to you F. O. B. Chicago for five days' free trial. It will sell itself, but if you are not satisfied that this is the greatest typewriter you ever saw, you can return it at my expense. You won't want to return it after you buy it—you cannot equal this wonderful value anywhere.

You Take No Risk—Put in Your Order *Now* When the typewriter arrives deposit with the express agent $8.80 and take the machine for five days' trial. If you are convinced that it is the best typewriter you ever saw, keep it and send me $2.50 a month until our bargain price of $48.80 is paid. If you don't want it, return it to the express agent, receive your $8.80 and return the machine to me. I will pay the return express charges. This machine is guaranteed just as if you paid $100.00 for it. It is standard. Over one hundred thousand people own and use these typewriters and think them the best ever manufactured. **The supply at this price is very limited, the price will probably be raised when my next advertisement appears, so don't delay. Fill in the coupon today—mail to me—the typewriter will be shipped promptly.** There is no red tape. I employ no solicitors—no collectors—no chattel mortgage. It is simply understood that I retain title to the machine until the full $48.80 is paid. You cannot lose. It is the greatest typewriter opportunity you will ever have. **Do not send me one cent. Get the coupon in the mails today—sure.**

H. A. Smith, 534, 231 N. Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Ship me a No. 2 L. C. Smith F. O. B. Chicago, as described in this advertisement. I will pay you the $40.00 balance of the SPECIAL $48.80 purchase price at the rate of $2.50 per month. The title to remain in you until fully paid for. It is understood that I have five days in which to examine and try the typewriter. If I choose not to keep it I will carefully repack it and return it to the express agent. It is understood that you give the standard guarantee for one year.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

Edited by Albion W. Small

For twenty years *The American Journal of Sociology* has been publishing contributions of fundamental importance in the study of society. They cover the field of social science, are written by leading investigators, and are wholly without partisan bias.

In addition to the regular contributions and signed book reviews, each issue contains a comprehensive bibliography of current sociological literature and brief digests of important papers in American and foreign social science journals.

$2.00 a year; issued bi-monthly.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO ILLINOIS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A new "before-the-war" book that is attracting wide attention—

THE INEVITABLE WAR

BY FRANCIS DELAISI

Published in Paris in 1911, under the title of *La Guerre qui vient.* This volume by an eminent French Socialist gives a new view of the ante-bellum relations of Germany, France and England. Its discussion of the resignation of M. Delcassé in 1905 is especially timely.

FRENCH ORIGINAL AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION ON OPPOSITE PAGES

Small 12mo $1.00 *net*

SMALL, MAYNARD & COMPANY
PUBLISHERS BOSTON

Says Walter E. Weyl in The New Republic, (October 23) "We should like a study of British diplomacy not during twelve days, but during twelve or a hundred years."

Such a study, entitled

How Diplomats Make War

By "A BRITISH STATESMAN"

is to be published immediately. It is a presentation by one who knows. About 400 pages; $1.50 net.

B. W. HUEBSCH : Publisher : NEW YORK

McClurg's Book Service

The books reviewed and advertised in this magazine can be procured from us without delay. We quote the customary discounts to Public Libraries and Colleges. Correspondence solicited from librarians unacquainted with our enormous book stock and facilities for handling library orders.

LIBRARY DEPARTMENT

A. C. McCLURG & CO. CHICAGO

Wholesale and Retail Booksellers

White Rock

THE UNSURPASSED MINERAL WATER

THE
FALL LITERARY SUPPLEMENT
of
The New Republic
OUT NEXT WEEK
NOV. 13

You may find here JUST THE BOOK you want for your own pleasure or as a gift for a friend

My Year of The Great War

By FREDERICK PALMER

Author of "With Kuroki in Manchuria," "The Last Shot," etc.

This is *the* book about the British Army in the war. Frederick Palmer was selected by Lord Kitchener as the only American war correspondent to go to British headquarters in France; and for a long time he was the only American correspondent permitted to visit the British lines. To say that Mr. Palmer has had exceptional opportunities is putting it mildly—he has had opportunities given to no other man. And he has made good use of them. For graphic sketches that take the reader right to the front, and for a wide comprehensive view that only a man with a grasp for big things could obtain, Mr. Palmer's book is the best by any war correspondent. $1.50 *net.*

Interpretations of Literature

By LAFCADIO HEARN

It is difficult to imagine a more interesting book on English literature than this. In later life Lafcadio Hearn tried to become a Japanese, and in so far as such a thing is possible to an occidental, he succeeded. Knowing the Japanese point of view and being thoroughly in sympathy with it, he has interpreted with marvelous skill and wonderful literary grace the literature of the English tongue, its masterpieces and its masters.

2 vols. Boxed, $6.00 *net.*

The Hunting Wasps

By HENRI FABRE

A delightful new volume, following "The Life of the Spider," "The Life of the Fly," etc., by The Scientist with a Poet's Heart. $1.50 *net.*

The Partitions of Poland

By LORD EVERSLEY

A history of the three partitions of Poland—between Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1772; between Russia and Prussia in 1793; and again, between Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1795. An eventful and tragic story of world-wide interest. $2.50 *net.*

The Soul of Europe

By JOSEPH McCABE

A very timely and valuable book based on the modern science of the psychology of nations. $3.00 *net.*

Court Life from Within

By H. R. H. THE INFANTA EULALIA OF SPAIN

"Unquestionably," says a well-known critic, "it is the most remarkable authentic narrative that has ever been written by a Royal Personage." *Illustrated.* $2.50 *net.*

The Real Argentine

By J. A. HAMMERTON

Says the distinguished English critic, Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, "It is out of sight the best book ever written on the Argentine."

Illustrated. $2.50 *net.*

The South Americans

By W. H. KOEBEL

A timely and valuable discussion of South Americans as a homogeneous people. There are 57,000,000 of them. What are their characteristics? The author answers.

Illustrated. $3.00 *net.*

The Life of Bernal Diaz Del Castillo

By R. B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM

Based on Castillo's True History of the Conquest of New Spain, which has reposed unmolested for years in Guatemala. A valuable addition to the history of the Conquest of Mexico, written by Cortes' right hand man. *Illustrated.* $2.00 *net.*

An Illustrated Catalogue of New Books sent to any address upon application

DODD, MEAD & COMPANY
443 Fourth Avenue New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED